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THE EXPOSITORY TIMES

Notes of Recent Exposition

How fares the World Church to-day ? The answer, so far as any answer can be given, is to be found in six booklets, called Ecumenical Surveys, prepared under the auspices of the World Council of Churches. The titles are : *Faith and Order*—Our Oneness in Christ and our Disunity as Churches, *Evangelism*—The Mission of the Church to Those outside her Life, *Social Questions*—The Responsible Society in a World Perspective, *International Affairs*—Christians in the Struggle for World Community, *Intergroup Relations*—The Church amid Racial and Ethnic Tensions, *The Laity*—The Christian in His Vocation.[1] These Surveys were primarily intended to provide background material for the Second Assembly of the World Council of Churches at Evanston in August ; but they are admirably suited to be sources of information for all who are concerned with Christian world affairs, and it is greatly to be desired that they should become widely known and used. They take the place in the programme of Evanston 1954 that was held by the volumes of essays published in connexion with Amsterdam 1948. Needless to say, each Survey is the result of a long course of fact-finding and consultation with agencies and individuals in many lands and then of a difficult process of digesting and editing the material thus collected.

Since space forbids mention of all the Surveys we turn to the important and interesting one on Evangelism. Its underlying conviction is that the whole Church is commissioned to bring the whole Gospel to the whole world. It focuses attention on the years 1948–53 and seeks to make a beginning with the desirable union of the two formerly distinct concepts of ' missions ' and ' evangelism.' Almost universal agreement now exists on the important point that evangelism must be total. It can no longer be considered as a specialized activity performed by a few specialists. Every aspect of the Church's life and activity is of evangelistic significance. In fellowship and service as well as in proclamation the Church must demonstrate the Gospel in the actual life context of men. Hence laymen are in the front line, and a large part of the function of the ministry is to equip the people of God for their mission of evangelism.

[1] S.C.M. 2s. 6d. net each.

A point which is mentioned no less than three times in this Survey is the widespread activity and success of the ultra-evangelical sects. The Pentecostals, we are told, outnumber all other Protestant denominations in Chile and are the second largest denomination in Brazil. It is estimated that some forty per cent. of contemporary Christian missionary efforts lie outside the ecumenical fellowship. Such sects usually combine a rather emotionalized faith with a deep sense of fellowship and a strong missionary zeal. Unfortunately they too often take no cognizance of existing Christian communities and are apt to find their objective in members of established Christian communities rather than in the mass of non-Christians. A matter which requires some heart-searching on the part of the larger churches is that these groups very often win their adherents among the socially dispossessed. The Survey sounds one hopeful note, however, in this connexion : ' In most instances there is only one link left with these non-co-operative groups. In their desire to be strictly " bible-centred " and actually engaged in Bible colportage to a degree hardly known in most churches, these groups whole-heartedly participate in the work of the Bible Societies. It may be in the field of Bible colportage that these groups and the established churches will find and cross-fertilize each other in a common evangelistic enterprise.' This is the more significant since reports from various parts of the world indicate that the Bible is being more systematically used in evangelism. In many places Bible colportage has become again an integral part of the total work of the Christian community, and Bible discussion groups are an increasingly common feature in the approach to those outside the Church.

There are encouraging signs that the intellectuals are more open to the Christian message than they used to be. In the U.S.A. the number of intellectuals professing religious sympathies or beliefs is stated to be greater now than it was ten or twenty years ago, and the number is continually increasing or becoming more articulate. On the other hand, the special problem of the isolation of great masses of industrial workers from the Church shows less signs of a solution. The Protestant Church in Japan is middle-class and does not reach the masses, whether peasants or industrial workers.

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A recent analysis of the evangelistic situation in India reports that urban Christianity is generally out of touch with the labouring masses, and thus the Communist allegation that the Church is a bourgeois institution seems well founded there. There is, however, clearer recognition than there used to be that in this field there is need for new approaches; but so far the stage of experimentation has not been passed.

Evangelistic thinking is increasingly tending towards a communal rather than an individual approach. This is nothing new as regards work among primitive or depressed peoples, where movements into the Church are impossible through individual decision and can only come about through mass action. The same approach is now being advocated in the case of the industrial proletariat. In that connexion a highly controversial proposal has emerged in different parts of the world. Since the social distance between the world of the proletariat and the present forms of Church life is too great to be covered at once, should there not be set up 'para-churches,' as 'half-way houses between this world and the Church?'

The Survey shows much cause for thanksgiving. The Protestant Church in Brazil is said to be 'the fastest growing church in the world.' In Argentina, whereas the population has quadrupled since the beginning of the century, the number of Protestants has multiplied by twelve. Recent reports from Indonesia, the second largest Muslim country in the world, indicate that there are at present great evangelistic opportunities among Muslims, especially educated young people, in that area. On the other hand there is no ground for complacency. Disquieting symptoms abound. In the Middle East a mood critical of all faiths prevails, especially in intellectual circles, and nationality seems to many to be the only allegiance worthy of devotion. In many parts of Africa separatist churches have arisen, and these become very easily syncretistic sects, affording a bridge by which Africans are brought back to heathenism. Moreover, our customary rejoicing over the spread of Christianity throughout the world is still premature. Scores of millions, in Asia and Africa and elsewhere—in Muslim lands, for instance—have as yet never even heard the Gospel. The Church of Christ is still, at home and abroad, on mission.

Interest in the Gospel of Mark and the circumstances of its composition shows no signs of abating. The most recent illustration of this preoccupation is the Rev. H. A. GUY's *The Origin of the Gospel of Mark*.[1] Written in a very attractive style this book addresses itself to the problem of the curious mixture of disorder and order in the Gospel and faces such questions as: 'What were the antecedents of Mark? What was the nature of the materials used by the writer? What method did he adopt with them? How is one to account for the form which the book took? What was the aim of the author in collecting his material and in writing it out?' These are the questions raised by Mr. GUY himself and his answers are frank, interesting, and challenging, if not always convincing.

First he discusses the well-known words of the Elder quoted by Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, in the second century, especially the enigmatic phrase, 'not, however, in order,' and he fully describes the interruptions in the narrative, the repetitions, the haphazard arrangement, and lack of connexion which characterize the Gospel and which no discerning reader can miss. 'The cumulative impression of "disorder" in Mark,' he says, 'cannot be missed,' and he justly points out that the examples he has given cannot be dismissed as hair-splitting or as demanding too great a consistency on the part of the Evangelist. He vouches for the fact that some of them have been questioned by students who would make no claim to be 'experts,' and points out that many of them are discussed in the standard commentaries.

'Disorder,' however, is only one aspect of the situation. There are clear signs of 'order' in the Gospel. A general chronological scheme is discernible, which is also geographical, and there are evident signs of topical arrangement. But the scheme is only a framework and the topical treatment has little literary finish and is not carried through consistently. 'These considerations,' Mr. GUY writes, 'further accentuate the problem of Mark—a book of disorder and yet with some attempt at orderly arrangement.' It is not as if Mark were an unintelligent or obscure writer. 'The problem remains how to explain the form of his book, with its abrupt beginning and equally sudden conclusion, its doublets, contradictions, repetitions, and confusion, and yet its generally orderly outline of the ministry of Jesus.'

There is no doubt that Mr. GUY awakens the reader's interest, and he does not fail to give a competent account of some of the solutions which have been proposed in source criticism, form criticism, and the theory that Mark is a theological book. What is Mr. GUY's explanation? He has no hesitation in giving one, and candidly says that the conclusions he has outlined were certainly not the ones he had anticipated when he set out

[1] Hodder and Stoughton; 10s. 6d. net.

upon this study. To describe his solution in detail would be as unfair as it would be to give away the secret of a detective thriller, a form of writing which in some respects his book resembles. Only as much must be disclosed as may render comment possible.

Mr. GUY distinguishes the preacher, the compiler, and that scapegoat, to whom so many critics have found reason to be grateful, the editor. Mark is the compiler and Peter the preacher, or at least one of the preachers who first related the Marcan narratives in the oral period. The nameless editor we leave to his folly, since, like most redactors, he is the whipping-boy of the hypothesis. One point we must mention about which many readers will feel doubtful. Mr. GUY appeals to twenty-one passages, some of them phrases, which he believes had their origin in comments of preachers. In some cases, 2^{28} 3^{30} 7^{19} ('making all meats clean'), $9^{12.\ 50b}$ 10^{31} $13^{10.\ 30.\ 33.\ 37}$ 14^{49} ('that the scriptures might be fulfilled'), his suggestions are not without force. But when we find that we must throw into the critical crucible sayings of Jesus like 2^{10} $9^{1.\ 41}$ $10^{15.\ 45}$ $12^{10f.}$ and 14^{62b} we begin to grow restive. In the case of 10^{45} (the ransom saying) is the only alternative to be considered 'the alternative of the commentators,' that the saying is a later addition 'summarizing the considered theology of the Church regarding the life and death of Jesus'? Is there not yet another alternative? Might not the saying be a genuine utterance of Jesus? In general, Mr. GUY makes us feel that the first preachers were sometimes too brilliant to be credible and sometimes too stupid for words.

Agape and Eros

Some Notes on Dostoievsky

BY THE REVEREND GERAINT VAUGHAN JONES, M.A., B.LITT., GLASGOW

I

SINCE the publication of Nygren's *Agape and Eros* there has been a tendency to draw too sharp a distinction between these terms, so that *agape* has come to be thought of exclusively as the 'love of God' (not 'love for God' and the 'love of man'), regardless of the fact that in the New Testament the distinction between them is very fluid. Too much attention, too, has been given to the fact that whereas the verb ἀγαπᾶν occurs in classical Greek, the noun αγάπη does so only rarely, as though there is any substantial difference between a verb and the noun which is derived from it; and unless we are to believe that the New Testament writers just hit upon it, as it were, and independently and simultaneously gave it a new meaning, it should be assumed to have existed in Hellenistic Greek too. Nygren insists that *agape* has an exclusively Divine reference, describing God's love towards man and not man's love towards God (which should be called *pistis*) or towards his fellow-man, though numerous passages in the Pauline letters and other New Testament writings abundantly support the latter usage. In 1 Co 13, for example, *pistis* does not mean man's love towards God, and *agape does* mean a human attitude outwards, not a Divine movement downwards, though Nygren concedes that love for one's neighbour is born of Divine *agape*. So, it might be argued, is *philia*; indeed, *eros*, which Nygren says is in its Platonic connotation wholly different from sensual love (though this is over-particularizing it, too), may also be of Divine origin. Nygren's interpretation of *agape* is predominantly in terms of the transcendent and superhuman and is consistent with the emphasis so evident in much contemporary theology. He is inclined, too, to minimize, though not completely to ignore, the strong support which the New Testament gives to the conception of *agape* as a human attitude. For Nygren, however, *agape* and *eros* are symbols of two completely opposed attitudes towards life and two different religious and ethical types (*Agape and Eros*, i. 162).

Now, I do not propose to analyse in detail the New Testament use of *agape* and *agapao* (*philia* occurs but once and *eros* [1] not at all). Roughly, however, such analysis shows that *agapao* and *agape*, when occurring in the writings of Paul and John (as they do some hundred and ninety times), usually denote more than affection displayed towards persons in the usual sense, referring chiefly to the love of God and the love of Christ. There are enough exceptions, however, and examples of overlapping, to show that the hard-and-fast distinction upon which Nygren and others insist cannot be maintained, and the infrequency of the use of *agape* in the Synoptic Gospels is striking; *agapao* is often used in the sense of *phileo*. In Lk 10^{46} the terms are interchangeable; in many instances in John *agapao* is used in the classical sense of the affection of one person for another;

[1] The New Testament term is ἐπιθυμια.

Jesus 'loved' Martha (Jn 11^5), and the frequent exhortation to 'love one another' clearly means having personal affection towards others. Indeed, in Eph $5^{25ff.}$ Paul uses *agapao* to describe the love of husbands and wives, which is the particularized love of *eros* and *philia*, and *agapao* is used of 'loving' the world; men 'loved' (ἠγάπησαν) darkness rather than light; God 'loved' (ἠγάπησεν) the world; but in Lk 7^{47} we are told of the prostitute that she 'loved' much (ἠγάπησεν πολύ). Here *agapao* is used for sensual, erotic love, which shows that the verb does not refer only to the 'downward' love of God for man. It is therefore improbable that the noun derived from it or from which it derives is confined to the meaning which Nygren and Brunner [1] give to it. Nygren, it is true, is describing two types of religion, that of *agape* and that of *eros*; but he seems nevertheless to maintain that *agape* is not the expression of a human, personal relationship but designates a Divine quality *only*. For this view the New Testament usage provides no support, though the term as used in the New Testament generally implies non-sensual and self-less love.

II

I have referred briefly to the New Testament usage of the term *agape* by way of introduction to the profound analysis of *agape* and *eros* (though not 'religious' *eros*) in some of the work of Dostoievsky, whose representations of *agape* (though he does not use the word) as a spiritual response and attitude both towards persons and the divinely created cosmos and of *eros* as disruptive desire are among the most profound in literature. He is concerned not with the priority of Divine *agape* but with the depth of human *agape* as a response to the Divine love which is nevertheless a human attitude. It is in *The Brothers Karamazov* that the startling contrast of *agape* and sensual or 'vulgar' *eros* (in the Platonic sense) is most conspicuously set forth; the last paragraph of 'Pro and Contra,' for example, is followed immediately by the wonderful section entitled 'The Russian Monk.' Between the frantic, self-lacerating erotic passion for things and for the flesh on the one hand, and the disinterested, mystical losing of the self on the other there lies a whole tumultuous universe of experience. Yet Divine love and human love, love of God and love of man, are interdependent. 'One who does not believe in God will not believe in God's people. He who believes in God's people will see His Holiness too, even though he had not believed in it until then.' The love of Christ, which is the love of God, extends even to the animal world; such is the universality of love and the inescapableness of *agape*.

In this section of the great novel devoted to the career of Father Zossima is to be found what is the finest example of the vast range and amazing depth of Dostoievsky's spiritual insight. Nowhere else did his admiration for the meek approach the purity and the almost unearthly saintliness of this Byzantine and Tolstoyan figure who represents the world of complete harmony in utter contrast to the dislocation of the Karamazov world. Zossima is Dostoievsky's answer to Ivan Karamazov's rational and even 'religious' denial of God. For him *agape* is not only the love with which man loves God and with which God loves man: it is the love with which man loves man and creation as God loved 'the world.' Zossima's love is compassion towards all.

Zossima was converted through the emotional shock resulting from the sense of shame at having struck his servant, of whom he asked forgiveness. Afterwards he refused to fight a duel and asked his opponent for his forgiveness too. As elsewhere in Dostoievsky's novels, it is a case of redemption through expiation. Just as in 'Pro and Contra' Ivan Karamazov discusses fundamental questions —God, freedom, providence, undeserved suffering and the impossibility of a theodicy because of it— so in 'The Russian Monk' are we introduced to the consideration of the nature of life when illuminated by *agape*. The section (Book 6) is a kind of Byzantine commentary on the Beatitudes, for it is the meek, if any, who shall inherit the earth, and all power, because it is opposed to love is disruptive of personal and social relationships. Hence Zossima commends a universal love based upon meekness and compassion; a love which, though human, is the semblance of the Divine *agape*, for its dynamic is forgiveness:

'Brothers, have no fear of men's sin. Love a man even in his sin, for that is the semblance of Divine Love and is the highest love on earth. Love all God's creation, the whole and every grain of sand in it. Love every leaf, every ray of God's light. Love the animals, love the plants, love everything. If you love everything, you will perceive the Divine mystery in things. Once you perceive it, you will begin to comprehend it better every day. And you will come at last to love the whole world with an all-embracing love. . . . If all men abandon you and even drive you away by force, then when you are left alone, fall on the earth and kiss it, water it with your tears and it will bring forth fruit even though no one has seen or heard you in your solitude.'

The natural feeling of indignation and the desire for vengeance should be shunned; rather should one seek suffering oneself and play some part in

[1] See Brunner, *Dogmatics*, i. Appendix 15, and also Simone Weil, *Waiting on God*, 45 and elsewhere.

bearing the sin and suffering of the world, for mankind can be saved only through vicarious suffering which is the fruit of compassion. The only imperative for the Christian is to love. Hell is 'the suffering of being unable to love.' It is also the Karamazov world of being able to do nothing but lust. The two worlds—the world of *agape* and the world of sensual *eros*—confront one another in the visit of the Karamazovs to the monastery and the scene which they make there.

It is in this alternation of contrasts that Dostoievsky's consummate artistry reaches its maximum effectiveness. The visit to the monastery is followed by 'Lacerations'; the cynical antitheodicy of Ivan Karamazov is followed by the section about Father Zossima's life, conversations, and death, and the temporary disillusionment of Alyosha, who cannot believe that a saint would suffer physical corruption. Then comes Alyosha's visit to Grushenka, the ex-mistress of the merchant Samsonov and now frantically coveted by old Karamazov and his son Dmitri. This, in turn, is followed by his visit to Father Païssy, who reads aloud in the cell the Johannine story of Cana of Galilee while Alyosha experiences a kind of mystical dream-fantasy in the presence of the coffin—'The coffin, the open window, and the soft, solemn, distinct reading of the Gospel.' Alyosha falls asleep on his knees, and awakes to experience the mystical ecstasy of cosmic love. He throws himself on the earth and waters it with his tears.

The Fourth Gospel has a peculiar fascination for Dostoievsky. One of the memorable moments in his work is Sonia's reading of the story of the Resurrection of Lazarus to Raskolnikov in *Crime and Punishment*. In *The Brothers Karamazov* Alyosha listens to the monk's reading of the miracle in Father Zossima's cell at a spiritually critical moment in his life, and even though he is only half-conscious of what is being read it is immediately afterwards that he experiences the cosmic love flowing into his soul. And following this picture of spiritual ecstasy, of the triumph of *agape*, there comes the terrible account of the struggle of father and son for the love of Grushenka in which the depths of masochism, sadism, and what Ivan called 'insect-lust' are ruthlessly explored. Through this world of intrigue, self-laceration, and erotomania, moves Alyosha, undisturbed by it all and strangely detached from its erotic ecstasy. Over this young man who has known the meaning of *agape* the primitive force of the Karamazovs has no power. The dreaded *femme fatale* has no power over Alyosha, either. Vulgar *eros*, the *eros* of sexual anguish, and the world of *agape* meet, but they do not merge. The only element common to both is anguish; the self-tormenting anguish of *eros* with all its self-frustration and unfulfilment, and the spiritual, compassionate anguish of *agape*, with the identification of him who loves (whether the object of his love is God, man, or creation) with the loved who is to be redeemed. The Divine *Agape* is Divine Anguish.

III

If in the parts of *The Brothers Karamazov* in which Father Zossima and the Monastery occur Dostoievsky gives us a wonderful picture of *agape* as disinterested, redemptive love as a form of grace, in the remainder of this great novel and elsewhere in his writings he exposes the destructive character of the erotic anguish of sex-love. It is probable that in the novelist there was an unendurable tension which sought expression in art, a dualism which was compelled to achieve conscious expression for the good of his soul. How much of what is latent in an author becomes manifest in his work is difficult to ascertain; but it is highly probable that Dostoievsky indulged in an acute psychological self-analysis to which he gave artistic form. In him there were, it is clear, strongly masochistic tendencies. It is quite likely that there is much truth in Fülöp-Müller's judgment on Dostoievsky: 'By translating the latent evil within himself into drama, Dostoievsky exorcized it, and by moulding his evil and vicious tendencies into characters who had names and destinies of their own, he was dissociating himself from them' (*Fyodor Dostoievsky* [1950]).

Indeed, a psychological analysis of Dostoievsky's novels in the light of what may be assumed to be his latent sexual inclinations still provides an exercise for those who like that sort of thing, especially in the light of the many dream-fantasies in which his novels are so rich. At any rate, the very complexity of his analysis of the various kinds of sensual *eros* and the continuous recurrence of the tension of erotic anguish throughout his novels suggest that he himself was undergoing an enduring and tumultuous emotional conflict. Myshkin's illuminating observation to Rogozhin in *The Idiot*—'Do you know that a woman is capable of torturing a man with her cruelty and mockery without the faintest twinge of conscience because every time she looks at you she thinks: "I'm tormenting him to death now, but I'll make up for it with my love later"?'—recalls the novelist's relations with Polina Suslova, who lived with him at Wiesbaden, as does Alexei's masochistic relationship to Polina Alexandrovna in *The Gambler*. 'You're torturing him simply because you love him,' Alyosha says of Katerina to Ivan, 'and the more he insults you the more you love him.'

There are strange, tortuous depths in human nature which only studies in abnormal psychology or the novels of its most profound analysts bring

to the surface. The more one reads Dostoievsky and encounters characters such as Katerina Ivanovna and Liza Khokhlova who are torn between masochistic submissiveness towards one man and a sadistic aggressiveness towards another, and surveys the vast inner world of *The Idiot* and *The Brothers Karamazov*, the more pointed do Berdyaev's observations on anguish and *eros* become. 'Love in particular,' he wrote towards the end of his life, 'seemed to carry within itself the seed of anguish, and I have frequently been amazed that people could experience the exaltation of love as sheer joy and happiness.' [1]

'Eros is in anguish, for it is concerned with, and deeply rooted in, time and eternity: it concerns the time athirst for eternal fulfilment, and yet never attaining it. Likewise there is anguish in sex, which does not merely denote a passion for satisfaction of desire, but also bears the signature of the fallen nature of man.' [2]

Of this there is plenty of illustration in Dostoievsky, as there is of Berdyaev's observation on 'demonic' women: 'Women are particularly prone to demonism. There are demonic women—a most unpleasant and terrifying phenomenon.' The most conspicuous instances in Dostoievsky are Natasia Philippovna in *The Idiot* and Grushenka in *The Brothers Karamazov*. Their universal significance consists in this strange mystery: that it is beauty rather than ugliness which is most often the manifestation of evil, and that it is through the beauty of the sensual *eros* that the latent evil in human nature is drawn out. 'Beauty is a terrible and awful thing!' says Dmitri Karamazov. 'It is terrible because it has not been fathomed and never can be fathomed, for God sets us nothing but riddles. . . . Is there beauty in Sodom? Believe me, that for the immense mass of mankind beauty is found in Sodom. Did you know that secret? The awful thing is that beauty is mysterious as well as terrible. God and the devil are fighting there and the battlefield is the heart of man.'

The desire for the beautiful is one form, perhaps the supreme form, of *eros*. Beauty, that is to say, is two-faced: it is in itself beautiful and at the same time can be the instrument of evil. Grushenka, the desirable, the object of erotic longing, is the occasion of the downfall of a family. The actual cause is the force of erotic impulse which shakes the family like a tempest. 'Does the spirit of God move above that force?' Alyosha asks. We wonder. Father envies son; son would murder father; the father is murdered, not by his legitimate son, it is true, though the latter is incriminated by circumstantial evidence and is condemned accordingly. There is love of evil for its own sake, and a complete lack of moral restraint. The frantically bacchanalian scene in the inn at Mokroe at the centre of the narrative is the peak-point of this amazing study of sensual *eros*, the complete antithesis to the *agape* of Father Zossima and the detachment of Alyosha Karamazov. Here *eros* is more than the Platonic yearning—it is the primitive passion for sexual satisfaction in which there is an element of overwhelming anguish. If *eros* is thought of as meaning nostalgia, longing, love, or desire of any kind, man's way to the Divine, or egocentric love, a huge area of life is excluded from its dominion. If Platonic *eros*, as Nygren says, is wholly distinct from sensual love, it is difficult to suggest what term covers it. *Erotikos* means 'sensual' love; and both Dmitri and Fyodor Karamazov, as well as the subtly portrayed, elusive women of the novel, suffer from various degrees of erotomania. Just as in *The Devils* (or *The Possessed*, as the novel is usually called) Dostoievsky uses his immensely profound power of penetrative analysis to describe the devastating destructive power of revolution and moral nihilism on the political plane, so in *The Brothers Karamazov* does he expose the terrifying effects of *eros*, which may be a symbol for other forms of obsession and possession.

The *agape* of man and of God is not subject to 'the breath of corruption'; yet it was through this breath of corruption, through the fact of death, that Alyosha experienced the mystical union with creation and the Creator.

For the other Karamazovs, however, there is nothing but frustration. The father is murdered by his illegitimate son, the nemesis on sensual *eros*. Dmitri, too, pays the penalty, though without any suggestion that there will be for him, as for Raskolnikov, redemption through suffering. Ivan Karamazov endures the consequences of immoralism and of the Faustian intellectualism which is another form of *eros*—'the anguish of a proud determination,' in Alyosha's words. The turgid world indicated by the chapter-headings 'Lacerations' and 'The Sensualists' is not one in which theologians are usually at home, though they may discuss the religion of *agape* and the religion of *eros* to their heart's content, and a celibate philosopher such as Berdyaev may write about the anguish of love-eros and about sex as the sign of human fallenness. The artist, however, so confronts us with these things as harmonizing or disruptive factors of existence that it is academic to discuss whether *agape* is exclusively an attribute of God, whether the self-immolation of the selfless prostitute Sonia in *Crime and Punishment*, the holiness of Zossima and the compassion of Alyosha should be described as *agape* or *eros*, or whether

[1] *Dream and Reality*, 40.

[2] *Ib.*, 42.

man can know God only through *agape* and not through *eros*. There is a point at which theological distinctions and forms of special pleading in the interests of a particular theological outlook appear to be concerned with imagined differences of meaning rather than with experience, though in the last analysis (and this is made clear by the Byzantine pietism of Father Zossima) human *agape* is hardly to be thought of as separate from grace. It is grace in action.

Literature

PETER

Professor Oscar Cullmann's 'Petrus' (1952) was reviewed in The Expository Times in September 1953; but it is a work of such outstanding interest and importance that full notice must be taken of an English translation by Professor Floyd V. Filson under the title *Peter, Disciple-Apostle-Martyr* (S.C.M.; 18s. net). Fully documented and written with great erudition, the book deals brilliantly with a complicated historical problem. It examines all the exegetical and theological issues connected with the person of Peter in the teaching of the Church about authority and leadership. The book adheres firmly to the Protestant submission that Mt 16^{17-19} has nothing to say about the direct transmission of authority to successors, but it entirely lacks anti-Roman Catholic bias and gives a prominent place to the position and work of Peter in the Primitive Church. The temper of the book is well illustrated by Professor Cullmann's claim that, in addition to the ecumenical achievements of recent decades, 'it is precisely the simple discussion between Roman Catholic and Protestant theologians that is one of the encouraging results in the church history of our time.'

The treatment is marked by a mounting interest. In Part I the historical question is discussed in successive chapters on Peter, the disciple, the apostle, and the martyr. The conclusion reached is that, after being pre-eminent among the original disciples, Peter presided over the church at Jerusalem in the first five years, subsequently became leader of the Jewish Christian mission, and probably at the end of his life came to Rome where he died as a martyr under Nero. A most interesting section discusses the apostle's theological views. These were dominated, it is claimed, by the concept of Jesus as the Suffering Servant, the *ebed Yahweh* of Deutero-Isaiah. Professor Cullmann thinks that, theologically, scholars are unjust to Peter when they put him entirely in the shadow of Paul or regard him as Paul's antagonist, devoid of understanding for the great Pauline insights. It is wrong to think of Peter only as the organizer. 'He certainly possesses a much greater significance in the foundation of Christian theology than we are accustomed to assume.'

Part II discusses the exegetical and theological question. Mt 16^{17-19} is examined at considerable length and its genuineness is affirmed. The saying promises, it is held, that Peter, the Rock, will have the leadership in missionary work and organization. Probably the immediate future is in mind, but if Jesus had in view the period following Peter's death, 'what is said of Peter as the Rock refers only to him, the historical apostle; he represents once for all the earthly foundation, the beginning who supports the whole structure of the *ekklesia* that is to be built in the future.' A final chapter treats the doctrinal and theological application of Mt 16^{17-19} to the later Church. The conclusion reached is that, so far as Peter is the Rock, it is in the temporal sense of laying the foundation as an apostle. 'In every generation Christ intends to build His Church on the foundation of the apostles.' A succession limited to the future occupants of one episcopal see cannot be justified from Scripture or from the history of the ancient Church. The rock remains the historical Peter, and on him Christ, the cornerstone, 'will keep building His Church as long as there is such a Church on earth.'

It is hoped that even this bare summary will reveal the first-class importance of Professor Cullmann's book. It is a book to buy and read, to keep and read again.

Vincent Taylor

EARLY CHRISTIAN THOUGHT

It is not easy to present the teaching of the early Church even to 'thoughtful persons' of to-day. To meet their case Dr. S. H. Mellone, in *Leaders of Early Christian Thought* (Lindsey Press; 15s. net) offers an alternative to 'the massively detailed expositions in the larger works on the History of Christian Doctrine,' which are often bewildering to the modern mind. In spite of the title, the treatment concentrates not so much on the personality and contribution of the individual leaders as on the seven main elements in the system of doctrine developed in the period from Justin Martyr to Augustine. From consideration of ideas of tradition and interpretation, through discussion of the being of God and the creative Word, of the nature

of man and of the person and the work of Jesus Christ, the argument moves forward to the themes of the Holy Spirit and the Trinity, of the Church and the Ministry and of the Sacraments.

This method has obvious advantages, and Dr. Mellone offers a careful and interesting statement, with illustrative quotations from the work of the leading thinkers on each theme. He refers appropriately also to the adversaries of orthodoxy, and has a word to say about a number of lesser figures, including, for example, the eastern prelates 'possessed by a kind of agitation which made them suspicious, loquacious, and disastrously ready for controversy or for compromise.' It is difficult, on the other hand, to avoid the impression that the leading figures themselves, appearing and reappearing as they do chapter by chapter, tend to become indistinct, and that the full doctrinal position for which each contended is somewhat obscured. The definiteness of treatment in the case of Athanasius, concentrated almost entirely in one chapter, in comparison with that of the other leaders illustrates the point.

Dr. Mellone is content, for the most part, with a factual statement. There are comparatively few references to other modern treatments, nor is there room for showing the diverging pattern of early Christian thought as reproduced, let us say, in the contrast between contemporary theologians who follow the trend of thought in Irenaeus, and those who stand in the Augustinian tradition. There is sympathetic appreciation of the efforts of the early leaders in 'contending for a religious reality which is vital to Christianity.' No less cordial is Dr. Mellone's appreciation of their readiness to use the gifts of mind and reason for theological understanding, or to assimilate the best of classical culture in the thought and service of the Church. 'The "intrusion" of philosophical ideas,' he declares, 'did not go far enough.' Always, however, the possibility of a less orthodox position than that of the early leaders is kept in view by an insistence that the theological setting of their thought was a traditional authority, Biblical and ecclesiastical, which they accepted as final. Were that authority removed, the way might well be open to conclusions as different from these of the early rule of faith as are suggested in the quotation cited by Dr. Mellone at the end of his Preface. 'The Incarnation is true, not of Christ exclusively, but of man universally, and of God everlastingly.'

J. G. Riddell

TRIBUTE TO LEO BAECK

To mark the occasion of the eightieth birthday of the great Jewish scholar, Leo Baeck, a volume of studies by some of his many friends and admirers has been published, under the title *Essays Presented to Leo Baeck* (East and West Library; 20s. net). They are on a wide range of subjects and are written by distinguished Jewish and Christian scholars. Of the fourteen essays nine are in German, and the remainder in English. Albert Einstein contributes nine aphorisms and Thomas Mann two pages of fragments from his pen. Norman Bentwich presents a comparative study of Solomon Schechter and Ahad Ha'am, and H. Liebeschütz a study of Abraham Geiger. Ernst Simon has an essay on Heine and Romanticism, and Selma Stern-Taeubler on the conception of the Jews and of Judaism in the ideology of the Reformation period. G. Scholem, the great authority on Jewish Mysticism, has an essay on the beginnings of the Christian Cabbala, which runs back to Pico della Mirandola. The Christian Cabbala is defined as the interpretation of Cabbalistic theses in a Christian sense or the interpretation of Christian dogma with the help of the Cabbalistic method. Jacques Maritain writes on the philosopher in society, and Nicholas Arseniev on the transcendence and immanence of God. Karl Jaspers considers the Personality of Jesus, psychologically and historically, and reaches the conclusion that the Jewish idea of the Suffering Servant was realized in Him. A. Heschel contributes what is more a sermon than an essay on 'A Preface to an Understanding of Revelation.' Martin Buber offers a chapter of a forthcoming book ('Das Kommende II'), treating of Samuel and the Ark. Paul Kahle has an important article on two editions of the Hebrew Bible. This article is illustrated by three plates, and these are the only illustrations in the volume, with the exception of the portrait of Leo Baeck, which forms the frontispiece. The remaining essay is by Julian Morgenstern, and is on the universalism of Amos. Here it is denied that Amos had reached a speculative monotheism, but argued that there is an implicit universalism in his teaching which is of the highest significance. 'He was the very first in all Israel, and, viewed from the standpoint of ethical-spiritual religion, the very first in all human history, to transcend the limits of nationalism and nationalistic religion and take a definite step forward in the direction of true and complete universalism.' In the course of this paper Dr. Morgenstern makes the interesting suggestion that Amos 9^{7} should be transferred to stand between Amos 3^{1a} and 3^{2}.

It is impossible to note here the many good things in these varied essays. The names of the authors will be a sufficient commendation of many of them. A few interesting observations may be cited. Bentwich quotes a saying of Schechter: 'You cannot love God with your father's heart.'

Heschel says : ' The idea of revelation remains an absurdity as long as we are unable to comprehend the impact with which the reality of God is pursuing man.' Finally, a remark of Maritain's : ' Even if philosophers are hopelessly divided among themselves in their search for a superior and all-pervading truth, at least they seek this truth ; and their very controversies, constantly renewed, are a sign of the necessity for such a search.'

H. H. Rowley

CONGREGATIONALISM

Congregationalism : A Restatement by Daniel Jenkins (Faber and Faber ; 10s. 6d. net), is a book which deserves close study not only from the leaders of the Congregational Churches but from all who are concerned for the spiritual reformation of the Church in our time. It is much more than a book about Congregationalism because it is a book about Congregationalism seen against the background of the New Testament, the ecumenical movement and the demands of the strange new world in which we live.

Mr. Jenkins has good qualifications for attempting a re-statement of Congregationalism. He knows something of the Congregational Churches in England, Wales, Scotland and the United States. He has seen much of the ecumenical movement at student and other levels. He has given his mind for many years now, with conspicuous success, to the examination of the idea of ' catholicity.' Not least, his vantage point as a Congregational minister who cares for a Church in England for nine months of the year and lectures on ecumenical theology in Chicago for the other three provides him at once with an opportunity of joining practice with theory and of living within two different kinds of Congregational tradition that few, if any, can possess.

Mr. Jenkins begins by noting that one result of the ecumenical discussion has been a rediscovery within each denomination of its own tradition. If this rediscovery is not to lead to a hardening of denominational pride, each Church must be prepared to face the pain of finding out where it is lacking and the greater pain of making the necessary adjustment.

The first task, however, is to examine the tradition and to find where its strength lies, so Mr. Jenkins proceeds to track down the essence of Congregationalism. The answer is not so much a formula as a cluster of insights which I can do no more than mention : the emphasis on faith in Christ, made all the more central by the revulsion from imposed creeds, the setting of fellowship at the heart of the Church and fixing it, as it were, in the structure of the Church through the Church meeting, and the determination to take the Church seriously by taking the Church *locally*. The most striking part of the argument is summed up in one of the many illuminating and thought-provoking sentences that are scattered about the book. ' Congregationalism stands or falls by the conviction that the fellowship must find its expression in the very structure of Church order.' It is here, the author thinks, that the Congregational tradition has something to say to other Churches.

In the chapters which follow — Faith and Freedom, The Local Church, the Ministry and the Great Church, Worship and the Common Life— Mr. Jenkins has more to say of what Congregationalism may learn from the experience of other Churches. Freedom is not an absolute value. It must be freedom founded in the gospel. The presence of Christ as the chief sign of the being of the Church must be more closely connected with the Word and Sacraments. Beyond the limits of the local Church an organ is needed through which the community of Churches can express itself adequately. Thus the ' element of law ' must be reconsidered as a possible ingredient in the Church's life ' although thoroughgoing Presbyterianism is not the only alternative to atomistic Congregational autonomy.' Suggestive lines of thought are struck out again and again, although I wished more than once that Mr. Jenkins could develop them. For example, we require a much more thorough theological treatment of the relation between our Lord's presence in the Church and the Word and the Sacraments than he has space to offer. In particular the relation must be so stated that the glib use of the phrase ' Word and Sacraments ' is scotched. Is it not better to define the Church in terms of the personal Christ and then go on to read Word and Sacraments in the light of this definition than to begin with Word and Sacraments and then be forced to refer back, more than once, to Christ as the Church's centre ?

The concluding sections of this fine essay deal with Manners and Morals, Congregationalism and Secular Society and Prospect for Congregationalism. There are interesting passages describing what he calls the Home Service character of the Congregational impact on society, the tendency to political Conservatism, the steady loss of younger Congregationalists to other Churches through a variety of causes other than social prestige and the meagre contribution of Congregational Churches to literature, music and art. It is Mr. Jenkins' conviction that much more study needs to be given to each denomination as a ' cultural phenomenon ' in its total setting ; and he regrets more than once in the course of this book that we have so few field

studies from which accurate generalizations may be drawn.

Mr. Jenkins, without attempting to forecast the future, pronounces the prospect for Congregationalism to be uncertain. There are not many Congregationalists and the possibility exists that with new 'mergers' they may become fewer. Yet 'Congregationalism emphasizes aspects of the Christian faith which are particularly needed in our time.' Its witness to the truth it has been given can best be made by allowing the life of Congregational Churches to be judged and reformed by such aspects of the faith.

This modest, vigorous, lucid little book is likely to stimulate much thought and perhaps some action within Congregationalism and beyond it.

CHARLES DUTHIE

MORE CHRISTIAN CLASSICS

The Christological problem we have ever with us. Throughout Christian history there has been a pendulum swing between the extreme of Apollinarian veneration and that of Nestorian companionship. Thus to-day one feels the contrast between the Barthian attitude and that of which a generation ago T. R. Glover was representative. No period, however, was more critical than that from Nicaea to Chalcedon, when the whole range of possibility was vaguely before the mind of the Church, especially in the East, the situation being, as always, complicated by philosophical assumptions, by social conditions and even by personal relationships. The student of Christology who is ready for the document stage of inquiry but limited to translations, will find a serviceable source-book in one of the new volumes in the 'Library of Christian Classics.' *Christology of the Later Fathers* (S.C.M.; 30s. net) has been edited by Professor E. R. Hardy of Berkeley Divinity School, Newhaven, in collaboration with Professor C. C. Richardson of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

The documents presented are with few exceptions already accessible in English, some of the translations of major treatises being merely reprints, while the smaller extracts are almost all included in the second volume of Kidd's 'Documents.' Athanasius is represented by 'On the Incarnation of the Word,' Gregory of Nazianzus by the 'Theological Orations' and three of his 'Letters.' Gregory of Nyssa is given some prominence, a fuller introduction, a more detailed bibliography, and a new translation of what is commonly known as the 'Catechetical Oration' and of a minor document, all from the reliable pen of Professor Richardson. Professor Hardy has contributed the general introduction and edited and translated several short key documents, reprinting Bright's version of the 'Tome of Leo' and adding solitary extracts of 553 and 681 to indicate later developments. The volume perhaps rather lacks unity. The documents as a whole are of an orthodox tendency and naturally lead to the Chalcedonian compromise. It is a pity that the major heretics are not able to provide convenient documents for inclusion in such a collection, but it would certainly be difficult to select anything, for example, from the 'Bazaar,' that would be convincingly Nestorian, or anything to do justice to the personality of Theodore of Mopsuestia. In the bibliography there is of course mention of the 'Bazaar,' but not of Bethune-Baker's 'Nestorius and His Teaching.'

In this series of Christian Classics four volumes are to be devoted to works of Calvin. One is glad of this as knowledge of his teaching seems in so many cases to be almost confined to the 'Institutio,' whereas for a proper understanding the 'Commentaries' and the 'Letters' are essential, and the same may be said of the works now carefully translated and judiciously edited by Professor J. K. S. Reid of Leeds in a volume entitled *Calvin: Theological Treatises* (30s. net).

The collection is a great improvement on the three volumes of 'Tracts' which have long been the English reader's guide to this type of document. It is scarcely to our credit that apparently several of the pieces are now Englished for the first time. Everything printed is useful, but one may mention the 'Geneva Catechism,' the 'Short Treatise on the Lord's Supper,' the 'Ordinances of 1541,' a somewhat abbreviated 'Necessity of Reforming the Church' (the date of which is wrongly given in the Contents), and the 'Reply to Sadolet.' The late and lengthy controversial 'Clear Explanation' while not specially interesting is a good example of its type. The bibliography is not very extensive though there are hints as to where to find fuller lists. There are brief introductions to the various documents, but the Editor has contented himself with presenting rather than discussing the works. A student would probably not want to begin his study of Calvin with this volume; he will not, however, go far without it.

This selection shows Calvin giving to his central principles a width of application that must strike any student. It will no doubt be observed that he covers the same ground repeatedly, but it is never mere repetition, and though he takes a long time to his arguments and some of them are not very telling, it is worth while being patient and reading him at full length. There can have been few in all Church History who were so able at once in systematic thought and in practical organization.

G. D. HENDERSON

Dr. W. W. Sweet has issued a revised edition of his *Methodism in American History* (Abingdon Press; $5.00), which was first published in 1933. He has added a new chapter on events since 1933, and also a rather brief appendix on the ecclesiastical structure of modern American Methodism.

Dr. Sweet helps us to see the development of American Methodism as a fundamental part of the history of the United States. Started on their separate career by the War of Independence, the American Methodists, like the Union, fell foul of the slavery question. From 1844–45 distinct Northern and Southern Episcopal systems divided the country between them, and were not finally reunited until 1939. The Reconstruction period brought added bitterness here, as to other spheres of American life. Yet throughout the nineteenth century Methodism kept up with the nation's westward expansion, and the fifteen thousand Methodists of 1784 had become eight million by 1939.

As he approaches the present day, Dr. Sweet's grip is inevitably less sure, his account more concerned with statistics, with the foundation of the numerous Methodist universities, and with the inevitable and familiar growth of departments. The most significant facts which emerge are the successful reunion of 1939, and the willing share the American Methodists are taking in the ecumenical movement.

English students would undoubtedly like to know more about the Methodist Protestant Church, and to have a more detailed description of the past and present status of the Methodist bishops. But Dr. Sweet, of course, wrote for an American public.

Human Society in Ethics and Politics is Bertrand Russell's latest work (Allen and Unwin; 15s. net). The first part of it is a treatise on Ethics, and Russell's point of view may be gathered from his assertion that right conduct is 'that conduct which will probably produce the greatest balance of satisfaction over dissatisfaction, or the smallest balance of dissatisfaction over satisfaction.' In making this estimate the question as to who enjoys the satisfaction or suffers the dissatisfaction is irrelevant. People's actions already to some extent make for the welfare of their community or the maximum of satisfaction, and for further progress in the same direction one must look, not to a revived belief in supernatural sanctions, but to such measures as better institutions, better education of the emotions and a better apportioning of praise and blame.

In the second part of the book the author turns to politics and envisages a single government for the whole world with a monopoly of armed force. For this to be possible there must be a diminution of fanaticism and a spread of the scientific spirit. He sees no hope in religion or indeed in any other faith.

Russell writes with as much lucidity and charm as ever and with as little gospel, for at the end he can only say, 'Those who are to lead the world out of its troubles will need courage, hope, and love. Whether they will prevail, I do not know; but, beyond all reason, I am unconquerably persuaded that they will.'

The Rev. W. E. Sangster, M.A., Ph.D., in his Joseph Smith Memorial Lecture entitled *Doctrinal Preaching* (Berean Press; 2s. net), lashes out at many faults in preaching, such as triviality, vagueness, sensationalism, the use of esoteric pious language, and so on; and, in doing so, says much that is salutary and relevant to our times.

Perhaps the best things in the Lecture are about how that great scholar John Wesley achieved the simplicity of diction that enabled him to reach the masses.

It is a pleasure to welcome the Bampton Lectures for 1952 just published as *Early Christian Interpretations of History* by the Rev. R. L. P. Milburn (A. and C. Black; 18s. net). This is a book that fulfils the promise of its title and more. Clement of Rome, Origen, Eusebius and Augustine are here as well as many lesser names; while among other interpretations we have those which think of history in terms of prophecy and fulfilment, as symbolic of supernatural truth and as straightforward chronicle. The author, however, out of his stores of knowledge, treats of the value of the Apocryphal books and of Christian art, and in interesting fashion he discusses the nature of the historian's craft with illustrations ancient and modern. The pages on the historical basis of the doctrine of the Assumption of the Virgin are supplemented by a comprehensive critical appendix on the same subject.

With over twenty pages of references and an index this is a learned book for students; but the author's style and order are such that the general reader is carried pleasantly along to the end with much stimulating discussion by the way.

Preaching Theology, by Eric Baker, M.A., Ph.D. (Epworth Press; 5s. net) consists of seventeen short chapters on the Christian creed and belief which originally appeared as articles in 'The Preachers' and Class-Leaders' Magazine.' The articles are short—the whole seventeen of them go into sixty-seven pages. They are not meant to be either exhaustive or profound but they are illuminating and suggestive and well calculated to set any intelligent person thinking. In writing of

the omnipotence of God, Dr. Baker warns against the idea that God is a tremendous abstraction of power, 'possessed (as I read somewhere but can't remember where) of infinite velocity but no direction.' Power must always be defined in relation to its purpose. 'In terms of brute force an elephant is more powerful than a woman, and, if ability to forge a way through a virgin forest is required, the comparison still holds good. But, if something entirely different is desired, such as threading a needle, an elephant is futile and impotent.' On writing of the omnipresence of God, Dr. Baker starts with the prayer of a little girl who was about to leave her home in Edinburgh for a holiday in the south. 'And now, God, I shall not be able to talk to you again for a while, as I'm going to England to-morrow for three weeks, but I will get into touch with you immediately on my return.' This is a most useful book, written with lightness of touch, lucidity of arrangement and with a real and successful attempt to state the great truths in a simple way. It would provide an excellent basis for a series of Bible Class addresses.

They Met By Night, by John S. Hoyland (Epworth Press ; 6s. net), is a rather unusual little book. In imagination it describes the scene in the Church at Ephesus when the Apostle John was dictating the early chapters of the Fourth Gospel to John the Elder. Mr. Hoyland imagines that this dictating was done at the evening meetings of that Church and describes it through the eyes of fourteen different characters, such as Stephanas, the mill girl, Asyncritus, the farmer, Hermes, the sailor, Zadoc, the physician, and so on. Each of them sees something in the gospel story, as John dictates it, which chimes with his experience or matches his need. For instance, Asyncritus, the farmer, has laboured hard cutting the little channels for the water to flow among his vines that they may bear fruit. He knows how water can be turned into wine. Amongst the group there is an interested Cynic philosopher who provides the questions the seeking rationalist might ask. There is real knowledge and scholarship behind this book. Mr. Hoyland knows the modern position regarding the Fourth Gospel and weaves it into his imaginary sketches. This is a charming book—but somehow it does not quite come off. That is very probably not so much the fault of this book as the result of the fact that past works of Mr. Hoyland have encouraged us to expect a very high standard from him. This book may not be quite so compelling as some of Mr. Hoyland's former volumes, but even if it is less successful, it is still worth reading.

This further essay in Thomist theology—*Belief in the Trinity*, by Dom Mark Pontifex (Longmans ; 5s. 6d. net)—begins with a discussion of what belief in a mystery in fact involves, and a statement of the Trinitarian belief as formulated in Roman Catholic teaching. The central argument is a defence of the doctrine on the ground that since 'only in a group can a man use all his internal powers' there is no contradiction in asserting distinction of persons in God who 'possesses all the perfections of creatures.' What can thus be asserted by a severely intellectual argument is supplemented by the revelation that the distinction of persons is in fact threefold and not, let us say, tenfold or twentyfold as natural reason might conceivably allow.

How far the average reader will be able to appreciate the close reasoning here presented may be open to question. There is, indeed, no attempt to conceal the difficulty of the problems being discussed, yet one wonders how far the inevitably technical arguments about the implications of Circumincession or Perichoresis or the *via eminentiae* will satisfy the reader. The final chapter, on the value of the belief, submits grounds for asserting that 'Christian ethics are rooted in the doctrine of the Trinity,' but scarcely satisfies the expectation of readers who look hopefully for some clearly stated and easily understood conclusions which find expression in the daily life of the believer.

Important as are most of the volumes of Schweich Lectures few of the series attain to the distinction of a second edition. That a new edition has been called for of the lectures delivered in 1944 by Professor G. R. Driver just six years after their publication is an indication both of the interest of the subject and the excellence of the treatment. In this work, *Semitic Writing* : From Pictograph to Alphabet (Oxford University Press ; 30s. net), Professor Driver investigates the origin and development of the alphabet. The first lecture, on Cuneiform Scripts, treats of such subjects as writing materials and implements, scribes and libraries. The second, on Alphabetic writing, deals, after an introduction on the means and manner of writing, with the various inscriptions we possess from ancient West Semitic centres. In his third lecture, on the Origin of the Alphabet, Professor Driver claims that, while the first steps towards an alphabet were taken in Egypt, it was among a West Semitic people in contact with Egypt *c.* 2500–1500 B.C. that the invention was taken up, later to be developed and perfected in Palestine and Phoenicia. It is a fascinating story told with great learning and illustrated by a large number of plates and figures. The new edition contains sixteen pages of additions and corrections and brings the discussion up to date.

The Logos of Philo: Personal or Impersonal?

By the Reverend A. W. Argyle, M.A., B.D., Oxford

One of the most disputed points arising from the Logos doctrine of Philo Judaeus is the question whether he ascribed personality to the Logos. James Drummond, who devoted over fifty pages of his two-volume work *Philo Judaeus* (1888) [1] to this very question, decided emphatically that he did not. Professor C. H. Dodd, in his recent book on *The Fourth Gospel* (p. 73), comes to the same conclusion: 'the Logos in Philo is never personal except in a fluctuating series of metaphors.' E. R. Goodenough, however, in his book entitled *An Introduction to Philo Judaeus* [1940], is more cautious. He thinks that to the question whether the Logos was personal or not Philo would have answered Yes and No simultaneously (p. 134). Edwyn Bevan in *Symbolism and Belief* [1938], p. 137, describes Philo's Logos as 'semi-personified.'

Any discussion of this question ought to be prefaced by the observation that, in the terms in which it is expressed, it involves an anachronism. The ancient world did not formulate the concept of personality. Indeed the development of the idea of personality first became explicit in the theological debates of the Christian Church concerning the Trinity and the Person of Christ. As was remarked by H. A. A. Kennedy in *Philo's Contribution to Religion* (p. 168), in ancient thought the boundary between personality and personification was vague. This was so because none of the great thinkers of antiquity, not even Plato or Aristotle, had attempted to define the characteristics which differentiate the personal from the non-personal.

But whilst the ancient writers did not define or discuss 'personality' as such, they were familiar with the concept of conscious, intelligent, volitional and purposive activity which really implies what we call personality. The question, therefore, whether Philo believed the Logos to be personal really resolves itself into the question, Did he believe the Logos to be characterized by conscious, intelligent, volitional, and purposive activity?

Several considerations seem to indicate that this question should be answered in the affirmative.

(1) Philo describes the Logos as sinless.[2] Clearly only a person possessing conscious, intelligent, and purposive volition can be described as sinless. Philo declares that the Logos is 'without participation in any sins whether voluntary or involuntary.' [3] This language cannot be dismissed as figurative or allegorical. It is a plain description of the nature of the Logos which makes nonsense if the Logos is regarded as impersonal. One would not describe a stone or a natural law as sinless.

(2) Philo declares that the Logos is the image of the Father, and that man is the image of the Logos, or, in other words, that the Logos is the image of God in which man is made.[4] The doctrine that the Logos is the image of God means, *inter alia*, that the Logos resembles and reveals God, partaking of His nature; and there can be no question that Philo regards God as personal. The God of Philo is the God of the Old Testament. The personality of God, therefore, guarantees the personality of His Son who is His image. Similarly the doctrine that the Logos, the heavenly Man, is the archetype of man, and that man is made in His image, must mean that there is a resemblance between man and the Logos. Undoubtedly Philo regards man, the image and son of the Logos, as personal. It appears to follow that he must have regarded the Logos as personal also. Indeed, not only is the Logos personal, but it is from his special participation in the Logos that man derives his own personality. It is only because of the element of divine-likeness within him, mediated by the Logos, that man can know God and be a person at all.[5] If the Logos is the source of man's personality, how can Philo fail to ascribe personality to the Logos? The Logos of Philo is in a truly personal sense both the Divine Son of God and heavenly archetypal Man.[6]

(3) In the *Quis rerum divinarum heres*, 236, the Logos, the image of God, is described as the Mind who is both within us and above us,[7] and of which the human mind is a copy. This designation of the Logos as 'the Mind above us' certainly seems to imply personality. We cannot agree with Drummond [8] that the description of this Mind, in the passage cited, as 'an intelligent and rational nature' suggests an abstract quality rather than a

[1] ii, 222–273.

[2] Profug. 108–117 (the reference numbers are those of the small sections in the Loeb edition).

[3] 108: *πάντων οὐχ ἑκουσίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀκουσίων ἀδικημάτων ἀμέτοχον.*

117: *ἀμέτοχος γὰρ καὶ ἀπαράδεκτος παντὸς εἶναι πέφυκεν ἁμαρτήματος.*

[4] Mund. Op. 25; Spec. Leg. i. 171.

[5] 'God made man partaker of kinship with Himself in mind and reason' (*τῆς αὑτοῦ συγγενείας μεταδοὺς ὁ Θεὸς ἀνθρώπῳ τῆς λογικῆς*, Mund. Op. 77).

[6] Leg. All. i. 31; Mund. Op. 134 f. Plant. Noe. 18–20; Spec. Leg. iii. 207.

[7] *Νοῦς τε ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ὁ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς.*

[8] ii, 233.

person. Surely only a person can be described as intelligent. It is in keeping with such a conception of the Logos as personal that He is said to stand midway (*μεθόριος*) between God and creation as a suppliant (*ἱκέτης*) of the mortal with the incorruptible, and as an ambassador (*πρεσβευτής*) of the Sovereign to the subject.[1]

(4) That Philo ascribed what we would call 'personality' to the Logos seems to be implied also by his description of the Logos as Paraclete or Advocate.[2] In the *De Vita Mosis*, ii. 134, Philo writes: 'he (*i.e.*, the high-priest) who has been consecrated to the Father of the cosmos must needs use the Son who is most perfect in virtue as an Advocate (*παρακλήτῳ*) to plead his cause in order that sins may be remembered no more, and good gifts may be showered in rich abundance.' It is true that the 'Son' here is the cosmos; but the cosmos referred to is the *κόσμος νοητός*, the intelligible universe, which is the Logos.[3] Only a personal Advocate could be described as pleading the consecrated priest's cause with a view to forgiveness of sin and divine blessing. Similarly, when it is said in *Spec. Leg.* i. 96: 'It is most becoming that he who has been consecrated to the Father of the cosmos should bring forward the Son also to the service of Him who begat,' the Son referred to is the *κόσμος νοητός*, the Logos, who here again fulfils the office of Paraclete, though the title is not here mentioned. In his exposition of Lv 6^{2-7} in *Spec. Leg.* i. 235–7, Philo describes as the 'blameless Paraclete' (*παράκλητον οὐ μεμπτόν*) the judging voice of a man's conscience, which is the voice of the Logos.

Of course it is true that the Logos is often described in seemingly impersonal terms. For instance, He is set forth as the creative Wisdom of God, symbolized by Eden.[4] But the Divine Wisdom was more than half-personified in the Hellenistic Wisdom literature, and in Philo is fully personal. Philo further finds the Logos to be typified by the manna[5] and the brazen serpent[6] and by rivers.[7] He is 'the unbreakable bond of the universe.'[8] But these impersonal descriptions in no way rule out the conception of the Logos as personal, any more than the description of God as *τὸ ὄν* means that Philo regarded God the Father as impersonal, for he also calls Him *ὁ ὤν*.[9]

Indeed, God the Father is frequently described by Philo in impersonal terms. He is 'without qualities (*ἄποιος*).[10] He is 'intelligible Light,'[11] a fountain of the purest radiance,[12] the fountain of reason.[13] All these terms are as different from the personal as is that of *τὸ ὄν*, the Absolute Being. Yet there can be no suggestion that Philo refused to ascribe personality to God. He may be said to have regarded God as supra-personal, but never as impersonal. Philo was a Jew who never forsook his Jewish faith.

This is freely recognized by scholars. They take literally Philo's description of God as personal, and treat as metaphors or philosophical abstractions those descriptions of God which appear to be impersonal. Yet in regard to the Logos some adopt the precisely opposite procedure, deciding to take seriously every description of the Logos as impersonal, and as metaphor every description of Him which implies personality. Could inconsistency in the treatment of evidence possibly go further than this?

The passages which should be treated as normative for the interpretation of the doctrine of the Logos, as for the interpretation of the doctrine of God, are those which plainly imply personality. The fact that the Logos is sometimes described in impersonal terms[14] no more disproves His personality than the words of Christ, 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life,' or 'I am the Vine,' or 'I am the Door,' or 'I am the Light of the World,' or 'I am the Bread of Life,' imply a denial of His personality.

The truth appears to be that the Logos of Philo is, like God, supra-personal. He includes personality, but transcends it. E. R. Goodenough is right: the answer to the question whether or not Philo's Logos is a person should be both 'Yes' and 'No.' 'Yes,' because the Logos includes both Divine and human personality, partaking of the former and bestowing the latter. 'No,' because the Logos, like God the Father, is supra-personal. Philo distinctly says that the nature of the Logos is as mysterious and incomprehensible as that of God Himself;[15] and sometimes the creative activity of the Logos, who is usually distinguished from God the Father as His Agent in Creation,[16] is merged into the activity of God Himself who is said to be the sole, unaided, Creator.[17] The Logos, the Divine Son of God and archetypal Man, is personal in the personality of the Father.

[1] Quis rer. div. her. 205.
[2] Cf. 1 John 2^{1}; John 14^{16}.
[3] Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Fourth Gospel*, 68.
[4] Leg. All. i. 65. Post Cain., 32.
[5] Leg. All. iii. 175; quod det. 118. Cf. John $6^{35f.}$ $^{53f.}$
[6] Leg. All. ii. 79. Cf. John 3^{14}.
[7] Post. Cain. 127 f. Cf. John 7^{38}.
[8] Plant. Noe. 9.
[9] Cf. C. H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks*, 3.
[10] Leg. All. i. 36. [11] Abr. 76. [12] Mutat. Nom. 6.
[13] Post. Cain. 69: *ὁ δὲ Θεὸς πηγὴ λόγου.*
[14] *E.g.*, 'royal Way' (Post. Cain. 101); 'Light' (Mund. Op. 31; Somn. i. 75).
[15] Quod Deus immut. 55, 62; Plant. Noe. 18 f. Mutat. Nom. 10.
[16] Leg. All. iii. 96; de sacr. Ab. et Cain. 8; Cherub. 127; Spec. Leg. i. 81. [17] Mund. Op. 23.

Important and Influential Foreign Books

Bultmann's 'Theology of the New Testament'

By Professor Dennis Nineham, M.A., King's College, London

This first half of the English translation of Professor Bultmann's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments* [1] gives rise to so many reflections that it is difficult to know what to single out for comment. That it reveals an unsurpassed breadth of reading and power of thought will hardly call for comment among those who know Professor Bultmann's earlier work. Nor are they likely to be surprised by the general tone of the book or its conclusions. But it is interesting to speculate what its impact is likely to be on English students of theology who do not read German.

The work as a whole is an account of the development of Christian thought from the time of our Lord Himself down to the rise of the Catholic Church, and this volume takes us as far as the thought of St. Paul, which forms the subject of its concluding section. The treatment is historical in so far as Bultmann believes he can trace four main stages of development in this period [2] and deals with these in succession, giving an account of the relations between them and of their influence one on another. It is systematic, in so far as the thought of each of the stages is treated for purposes of exposition as an independent whole and analysed according to subject matter; but even here the genetic method is never left entirely out of sight. It is undoubtedly these latter, expository, parts of the book which will commend themselves most unreservedly to English scholars, most of whom will probably agree that the last one at any rate, the exposition of St. Paul's thought, is a masterpiece of clear and well-documented scholarship. If their attitude toward the other expository sections is more reserved it will be because in them the exposition is more controlled by Bultmann's historical understanding of the period, and it is this historical understanding which will be the main source of controversy in the book—and incidentally perhaps will prove the most worthwhile reason for having translated it.

[1] Translated by Kendrick Grobel [S.C.M., 1952]. The German original began to appear in 1948. The complete English translation will be in two volumes, the second of which, not yet published, will deal with the Johannine writings and the development toward the Ancient Church.

[2] It is not suggested, however, that these stages were sharply distinguished and did not overlap.

The four sections of the book deal respectively with The Message of Jesus, The Teaching of the Earliest Church, The Beliefs of the Hellenistic Church in its pre- and non-Pauline forms, and The Theology of St. Paul. That is unexceptionable enough, but the English student will probably be very surprised at the proportion of attention devoted to each section; of three hundred and forty-seven pages of text, section one gets thirty pages and so does section two, while sections three and four get one hundred and twenty-one and one hundred and sixty-six pages respectively. And this distribution is a fair index of Bultmann's general view of the subject. Of Jesus Himself, he thinks, a teacher and prophet with no messianic pretensions, we know, and can know, very little. And the position is much the same with regard to the earliest community of simple Jewish Christians, among whom the gospel *of* Jesus first became a gospel *about* Jesus, though even for them, according to Bultmann, the Messiahship was something wholly in the future and the earthly ministry had no messianic quality.

So inevitably, the centre of gravity in the book lies in the last two sections. On Bultmann's view it could not be otherwise; for according to him it is only about the Hellenistic and Pauline Churches that we possess any direct evidence. All our documents, canonical and uncanonical, including the Gospels, derive from these communities and are *direct* evidence only for their life and beliefs. It is true that some of these documents profess to give an historical account of the events on which the life and beliefs were based, but the men who compiled these documents were untrained and uninterested in scientific history and Bultmann is very chary of accepting their accounts at their face value. In fact it is one of the contentions of his book that to a very considerable extent the account of the gospel story in its present form, and with its present theological colouring, was the product of the developing religious faith. In many respects at any rate, Bultmann thinks, the gospel story is the product of the faith, not the faith the product of the gospel story.[3] Such a view is bound to provoke the question: What then *did* produce the religious faith? But for

[3] A signal instance of this, according to Bultmann, is the story of the physical resurrection of the Lord.

the moment it will be well to turn aside and notice one novel feature of Bultmann's method.

This is the attempt, made in the third section of the book, to separate out Hellenistic Christianity as it was apart from St. Paul's influence and to give a systematic account of it as an independent phenomenon. Undeniably there are good grounds for the attempt; no one nowadays doubts that there were Hellenistic Christians with a theology of their own before Paul, or that there continued after him to be Hellenistic communities hardly influenced by his thought. But the evidence for their beliefs is so scattered, indirect, and often ambiguous, especially in the case of those before Paul, that it was a brave venture to work it up into a coherent account of such length. It could hardly have been done without drawing largely, as Bultmann has done, on extra-canonical sources. But exception can hardly be taken to that; indeed the use of apocryphal and patristic literature to illuminate and illustrate the meaning of Biblical texts is a prominent feature of the book which English students might note to their profit. Even so, this account of non-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity is something of a *tour de force* and every reader will probably find something in it he wishes to query or qualify; but it by no means follows that the attempt was not well worth making and should not be repeated. As far as Bultmann is concerned, the attempt was, as we shall see, a natural, almost an inevitable, consequence of his general view of Christian origins.

From this brief account some readers may find themselves wondering whether the book was worth translating at all. Such doubts would be unjustified. The expository sections are so full of good things that they alone would have justified the translation. But it may be suggested that it has a wider and more significant justification than that. Until the first decade of this century it was customary for almost all important theological works in German to be translated into English; but since then, as the theological reading public has decreased in size, the custom has dropped.[1] As a consequence, a whole movement of German Biblical scholarship—the work of the so-called *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*[2]—has remained largely unknown to most English readers, at any rate so far as the New Testament is concerned. The classics of this school, Bousset's *Kyrios Christos*, Reitzenstein's *Mysterienreligionen*, Lietzmann's *Messe und Herrenmahl*,[3] and a number of others have all remained untranslated and largely unknown except from brief and usually hostile discussions in English works. English New Testament scholarship meanwhile has tended in a very different direction, and so this translation of Bultmann's book will undoubtedly come as something of a shock to many English readers. Therein lies a great part of its value. A careful reader will see that, for all its individual brilliance, it is in large measure the voice of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule* coming to expression on the whole subject of Christian origins. Of course Bultmann has his own insights and peculiarities, in particular he is deeply radical, but from the present point of view that is no disadvantage, for it enables us to see more clearly where the school's mode of approach is likely to lead if pressed with complete logical consistency.

The discerning English student then will be grateful to this translation for plunging him into a tradition of New Testament scholarship bewilderingly different from his own. At first he may well be tempted to dismiss Bultmann's as an 'irreverent'[4] way of handling the Bible, but to do that would be to beg the whole question; he will do better to attempt an analysis of the difference.

In the first place the whole book is based on assumptions very similar to those of the 'modernist' or 'liberal' school so unfashionable among English theologians to-day. There is the familiar distinction between the gospel *of* Jesus and the gospel *about* Jesus, and the latter is largely attributed to the influence of gnostic ideas,

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[1] And it so happens that such theological works from Germany as have been translated in recent years have almost all emanated from 'neo-orthodox' circles.

[2] A difficult expression to translate—perhaps the 'History of Religion School,' but we should talk more naturally of the 'comparative study of religion.' The name was originally applied to a group of scholars (Gunkel, Bousset, Wrede, and others) in the latter part of the last century; but it is also applied to more recent scholars whose work has been based on similar methods and presuppositions. The common characteristic of these scholars is the belief that the true understanding of the Biblical documents depends on seeing them in their historical setting as part of the development of man's 'religious culture.' The members of the school have therefore carried out a great deal of research into the religions and cultures contemporary with the Biblical writings. The dangers of such an approach will be sufficiently obvious.

[3] After nearly thirty years an English translation of Lietzmann's book is now being published in Holland [Brill, Leiden].

[4] That is perhaps the adjective that springs most readily to mind. Biblical texts and doctrines are evaluated, and sometimes dismissed, with a confidence in modern judgment and standards very surprising to English students. Biblical writers are treated with disarming frankness as men like ourselves, 'weak on the speculative side' or 'muddled at this point.'

mystery religion theology and the like. About this two things may be said. The first is that little harm can come from confronting younger students with some of the central modernist problems. For, wherever the truth may ultimately lie, it may be doubted whether many of the questions raised by the modernists have ever been really satisfactorily answered. But secondly it is to be noticed that Bultmann's position is significantly different from that of the older modernists, and different precisely in the direction we should expect from a member of the *Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*. The development of early Christianity is now understood in terms of the cultural and religious environment in which it took place. The opposition is no longer the simple one between the Jesus of History and the Christ of St. Paul; it is between Jesus as He was in the narrowly Jewish setting of popular Palestinian religion and Jesus as He was bound to be conceived if He was to be an object of worship — or even of comprehension — to the mixed population of the Mediterranean world, with its background of Hellenistic and near-oriental religions. The villain of the piece, so to speak, is no longer St. Paul or any other single person, nor even rivalry and misunderstanding between several persons; it is rather the essentially non-Jewish character of the early Hellenistic communities to whom an essentially Jewish religion was preached. Even St. Paul, for all his stature, is seen as working within this environment, part of an impersonal and inevitable development which went on before, during, and after his lifetime. Some at least will feel that, so seen, he becomes in some ways a much more intelligible figure.

This point has been stressed because it brings us very near to the heart of the issues involved. Those who know Bultmann's other writings will probably agree that the problem with which he is ultimately concerned is that of the relation between religion and the cultural environment by which it is surrounded and in terms of which it must express itself. This same concern lies behind the present book.

In the first place Bultmann asks himself how a religion—that of the New Testament as we have it—which on his view is essentially a religion of Hellenistic people, or at any rate Hellenistic Jews, reflecting *their* concerns and expressed largely in terms of *their* phraseology,[1] can ever have existed in substantially similar form in the quite different cultural and religious situation of first century Galilee. The two situations, he feels, were so different that a religion which spoke to the condition of one could not, without serious modification, have survived in the other. For example, in the New Testament picture of Jesus, Bultmann detects considerable elements of the κύριος[2] and θεῖος ἀνήρ[3] conceptions, both essentially Hellenistic ideas which would have been quite unintelligible in a purely Jewish setting. One does not need to agree with Bultmann about these, or any other, particular cases to feel that there is a general point here deserving of more attention than it sometimes receives this side of the Channel.

But there is a much more important way in which Bultmann's fundamental concern has affected this book. One aspect of his problem, that which concerns the relation between the New Testament cultural background and our own, has supplied the basic presuppositions of the whole book, and indeed of all Bultmann's other work on the New Testament. Every student of the New Testament who is concerned with other than purely technical questions is bound sooner or later to be faced with this question of the relation between the two cultures. For example, to take an often quoted and rather trivial instance, it is virtually impossible for anyone with a modern western European cultural background to believe that the upper air is thickly populated with demons hostile to God and His servants, as was almost universally believed in New Testament times. Thereby a problem is raised for us in connexion with the stories in the Gospels of demon possession and its healing. Faced with this sort of problem English students tend to react in a fairly uniform way, though it is a way not easy to define. Where New Testament accounts involve what is, from our point of view, sheer impossibility we are ready enough to admit it, but our strong instinct is to be very cautious about making such admissions, and to avoid at all costs any *a priori* dogmatism. 'After all,' we say, 'it is only to be expected that when the unique Event occurred and God's own Son became flesh, His incarnation should have been accompanied by many breaches of the "laws" of nature elsewhere unknown in history. To rule out the possibility of such divine interventions *then* because they do not seem to happen *now*[4] would be quite unscientific and contrary to the valid insights of Hume and his fellow empiricists. True, the particular interpretation of the Lord's healings in terms of demon

[1] This, of course, is a historical judgment on which Bultmann can be—and has been—sharply challenged.

[2] 'Lord' in the sense of the cultically worshipped deity of the Hellenistic world. Bultmann denies the possibility of derivation from the Palestinian *Maran*.

[3] The 'divine man,' a numinous hero-figure of much Hellenistic religion.

[4] Even supposing that to be true.

possession given by the Evangelists may be attributable to the contemporary cultural background, but that affords no ground for doubt that genuine healings took place, and took place through the direct intervention of God as part of His great saving work.'

The strengths of such a position are familiar to us all, and they are strengths indeed; but it may nevertheless be good for us to be reminded that great scholars of another tradition, when faced with the same problems, are reacting rather differently and are therefore producing a different picture of the origins of our religion. New Testament scholarship is still far from 'assured results.' In particular it may be good for us to see how seriously one such scholar feels obliged to take modern culture and its world-view. It is fashionable nowadays to emphasize the relativity of all world-views, including our own. Such an emphasis, valuable though it is, contains a danger; it could easily lead us to minimize, or even by-pass, the problems presented to religion by contemporary culture. For, as Bultmann insists elsewhere, you can no more jump out of your cultural environment than you can jump out of your skin, and it is as whole-hearted—though not uncritical—participants in twentieth-century culture that we must be Christians if we are to be Christians at all.

That may sound painfully obvious, but in fact it has presented Christians with a very difficult dilemma ever since, about two centuries ago, the contemporary world-view began to diverge sharply from that of the Bible. On the one side there is the valid insight that in a fallen world every world-view is bound to prove relative and at least partly unsound in the light of the Biblical revelation. But this can easily degenerate into the bibliolatrous position which ignores or decries any novel insights of modern science and culture which may seem to conflict with the Biblical account as it stands of man and the world and their relations with God.[1] On the other side too lie a valid insight and a caricature of it. The insight is that no religion can or will survive which cannot be satisfactorily expressed in terms compatible with the true deliverances of contemporary culture and science. The danger here is of accepting the contemporary culture so uncritically that it becomes the inflexible yard-stick by which the Biblical revelation is judged and, where necessary, rejected.

Now it may be suspected that the main stream of English theology had kept closer to the former insight than to the latter, and English theologians may therefore be inclined to accuse Bultmann of holding the second position in its vicious form. The charge may well have considerable justification, but at the same time we should at least be prepared to consider the accusation implicit in Bultmann's book that *we* have tended to slide over into the illegitimate form of the first position and to sit too lightly to the second, even in its valid form. The difficulty is that we are here outside the sphere of logical argument in the strict sense. You cannot *prove* that at such and such a point the general outlook of your day is 'relative' and unsound and stands condemned by the essential Biblical revelation, because the question at issue is precisely in what the essential Biblical revelation consists. Nor yet can you *prove* that certain basic assumptions[2] widespread among your contemporaries are so absolutely valid that they necessitate the rejection or modification of certain Biblical statements. What the modern world-view renders incredible for me is simply what I as a twentieth-century man, alive to what is going on around me, finds it impossible to believe; and that varies from person to person.

So it is at a level too deep for strict proof or refutation that the presuppositions of Bultmann's book differ from those of most English theologians. In particular he believes that the valid insights of modern culture and science have made permanently incredible the whole supernaturalistic[3] apparatus of miracle and overt breach of the natural order, in terms of which the New Testament tells, and guarantees the truth of, its story. It follows that, whatever the truth may be which the New Testament is meant to convey to us, the alleged miraculous interventions are not part of it, but are rather the partly distorting medium through which alone that truth could be conveyed to people of a pre-scientific, 'mythical' culture. Our task therefore is to disentangle the truth from the distorting medium and present it to men of modern culture in a 'demythologized' form.[4] This, as everyone knows, Bultmann has tried to do with the aid of categories derived from Heideggerian existentialism.[5]

[1] The conflict over evolution is the most obvious example; but there are others more subtle and significant.

[2] *E.g.*, that 'because miracles do not happen now, they never have.'

[3] 'Supernaturalistic' rather than 'supernatural,' because presumably no one could deny the supernatural and remain a Christian, or even a theist. By 'supernaturalistic' is here meant the supernatural which by its manifest and undeniable discontinuity with the natural guarantees itself *as* supernatural.

[4] In Bultmann's view the New Testament world-view reveals its 'mythological' character in many ways besides its belief in miraculous divine intervention, *e.g.*, in its cosmology.

[5] See his essays in *Kerygma and Myth* (translated by R. H. Fuller. S.P.C.K. [1953]).

It lies outside the scope of this article to discuss the merits of such a position, but it has been necessary to say so much because Bultmann's treatment of the New Testament will not be understood unless such considerations are kept in mind. *The Theology of the New Testament* should be read with *Kerygma and Myth* always ready to hand. Only so, for example, is it possible to understand why Bultmann's section on the ministry of our Lord is so brief (the story is so riddled with the 'supernaturalistic'!) when English scholars still feel able to treat the Gospel accounts as trustworthy enough to provide the basis for a fairly full historical reconstruction. Only so shall we appreciate the full courage of what Bultmann is trying, rightly or wrongly, to do. The Biblical records, we might think, are so shot through with 'supernaturalistic' elements [1] that to reject them and yet cling to the Bible as the Word of God is an impossible endeavour. But that would be to reckon without the 'Barthian' streak in Professor Bultmann. Jesus, he says, is not less the Word, the Act, the Son of God because as incarnate He was *incognito* and there were no supernaturalistic occurrences to distinguish Him outwardly from other men. These titles of Jesus still have all their old validity, and more, if only we will reinterpret them, and the rest of our religious vocabulary, in 'non-mythological' terms.

This raises one last point. Bultmann's preoccupation with 'demythologization' is certainly reflected in his account of New Testament thought. Existentialism provides many of the categories in terms of which he attempts to evaluate the various theological developments and is even used in places as the key to unlock the true meaning of St. Paul's Epistles. Such a 'dogmatic' approach to the New Testament has often been shown to be exceedingly hazardous, and it may well be asked how far Professor Bultmann has escaped the hazards. The short answer is that such criteria have been used with restraint, so that they illuminate rather than distort, and that, on the whole, existentialist ideas have not been read back into any New Testament text to which they are completely foreign.

[1] And 'mythological' elements of other kinds.

In the Study

Virginibus Puerisque

How to Recognize a Christian

By the Reverend William Turner, B.D.,
Gargunnock, Stirling

'Now when they saw the boldness of Peter and John . . . they took knowledge of them, that they had been with Jesus.'—Ac 4[13].

When the Allies made their great landings on the coast of France in June, 1944, many British and American soldiers were dropped by parachute from planes into enemy territory. The 101st Airborne Division of the United States Army made such a drop at night. The men should have come down in bunches; but they didn't. Most of them, on landing, found themselves alone in the dark, and with the enemy somewhere near—perhaps behind that hedge, perhaps yonder in that other field. But these men gradually got together, because, on the order of their commander, each of them carried with him a little toy. Perhaps you've seen the kind of thing—a little metal snapper which, when it is pressed, makes a clicking sound like a cricket or grasshopper. I have one which I use when I am giving a lantern lecture, to let the man who is working the lantern know when to change the slide. When these men found themselves alone they made their snappers go click-click; and when they heard an answering click-click they knew that one of their comrades was near.

In the early days of the Christian Church, when Christian people lived dangerously, surrounded by their enemies, they had secret signs by which they could recognize one another. If you were standing speaking to a stranger he might unobtrusively draw in the dust with the toe of his sandal the rough outline of a fish, and you would know at once that here was a brother Christian. (A fish was a Christian sign, because, if you wrote in Greek the words, *Jesus Christ God's Son, Saviour*, and took the first letter of each word, you got the Greek word for 'fish.') Or you might be on a journey carrying an important letter from one church to another, and you might be wondering where you could spend the night in safety; and then you would notice a little cross scratched on the doorway of a wayside house, and you would know at once that in this house you would find a Christian welcome.

Our text tells us that Peter and John were recognized as followers of Christ because of their boldness. And this is how, I think, we should be able to recognize Christians to-day—not by toy snappers which we might all carry, nor by making the sign of the fish or the cross; but by being bold in standing up for Jesus—bold in doing what is right, no matter what others may say. Be bold

in pleasing Jesus; and then we shall all know that you are one of us—that you too are a Christian.

Remembrance Day

By Rita F. Snowden, Auckland, New Zealand

'Have these things always in remembrance.'—2 P 1^{15}.

I wish we might each buy a ticket to Australia this morning. I am sure you would enjoy it. An air ticket would be best, because then we could fly in quickly over Sydney harbour with its lovely blue waters stretching for miles and miles, and the great harbour bridge, like a giant-sized meccano set arched into the sky.

Of course there are lots of things in Sydney to see, but if we had only one day—and it were this day, Remembrance Day, there is at least one thing I would specially like you to see.

It is a beautiful building set just a little way from the main streets, in a park. And it is a building quite different from any other in the city—it is a Memorial, and right in the centre of it is a Hall of Memory.

When you enter the Hall of Memory you must bow your head, because the main thing to see there is a beautiful bronze group of four figures, and it is set below eye level, so that to look at it at all, you must bow your head. And that is a suitable way to enter, with quiet reverent steps and bowed head. For this is a very, very sacred place.

The four bronze figures—those of a young man killed in war, now raised high by the up-held hands of the other three—are to help all those who come into the Hall of Memory, men, women, boys and girls, to remember. If you stand silently and look, you will see that all three who bear the burden of the young soldier are women.

The first of the three is his sister, we can tell that because she is about his age, and is like him in looks, strong and fine and young. The next is his wife, we know that because she has a tiny babe in her arms. The third is aged and care-worn, and we know who she is. She is his mother.

Each helps to bear the heavy burden, the sad burden of war, so each of their faces is sorrowful as well as brave, for each has to go on living without the young soldier who has been killed in war.

And that is the meaning of war—not only that the young soldier gives up his life, which is the most precious gift a man can give, but that war lays a heavy burden on all others who must live on after he has died.

That is what the bronze group in the Hall of Memory says to all those who look upon it. It is an important thing to say, and to remember on Remembrance Day, and on all the other days too, when we talk about war and about helping to make peace in the world. Underneath those fine, sad figures the sculptor has put some words, and they are these: 'Let silent contemplation be your offering.' In other words, he is saying, Hush your hearts here, and remember these things, and think about them until you can find a better way to settle the quarrels of the nations than by war. When you have found that better way, then offer your best gifts of life to make it come true.

The Christian Year

Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity

New Life in Christ

By the Reverend Douglas Stewart, M.A., Pinner

'And Jesus knowing their thoughts said, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and walk?'—Mt $9^{4.5}$.

We have no right to answer that question since we are incapable of saying to the sick of the palsy either 'Thy sins be forgiven thee' or 'Arise and walk.' We cannot tell which of these is the easier because, for us, they are equally impossible. Instead of trying to answer we usually do what Jesus' Galilean auditors did: we say that what is impossible for us must also be impossible for Him.

The scribes had nothing to say to the paralysed man, but their impotence did not deter them from criticising His competence. But they did it, significantly enough, in the name of law. Matthew contents himself with telling us that they thought, 'This man blasphemeth.' Mark is more explicit: he tells us that they argued, 'Who can forgive sins but God only?' In the name of that high principle they denied in advance the power of Christ.

The modern mind passes lightly over their difficulty. The forgiveness of sin is not a modern issue. It is at the second word of Jesus that we begin to object, 'Arise, and walk.' He has no right to say it because 'Miracles don't happen!' Our law is the law of Nature which must never be broken. Jesus blasphemes from the modern point of view because He proposes to break through the sacred order of the universe.

Whether is easier to say, 'Thy sins be forgiven thee'; or to say, 'Arise, and walk'? He said both. That is the fact with which we must come to terms. He transcended—He transcends—the religious legal impotence of the ancient world, and the scientific legal impotence of the modern world. He is master of both man's enemies.

1. Our first enemy is the past. It is to the past that Christ speaks when He says, 'Thy sins

be forgiven thee.' The man carried to Him was paralysed because of his past.

How shall the man I am to-day bear the memory of 'all our yesterdays'? Where can the self be buried, the self who was myself, the self of whom I myself am now ashamed? I can only bury my dead past within my living present. At times the burden becomes intolerable as it did for this man in Capernaum so long ago. He had no strength, no energy, no desire to go on with life any more. It took four men to lift his dead weight, and even they could not give him the power to lift himself.

I said a moment ago that sin is not a modern issue, and by that I simply meant that men to-day have given up the problem as insoluble. In despair modern man gives his attention to what he thinks are more practical things. He hopes that by ignoring the fact of guilt he may be able to circumvent it. There is a phrase of Oscar Wilde's which expresses this optimism, 'The body sins and passes on.' So men hope.

But even Oscar Wilde did not believe it. The phrase occurs in *The Story of Dorian Gray*, which is a parable of moral retribution. Sin is only of the body in so far as the body is servant of the spirit. Sin dwells in the infinitudes of the personality. And the easy conscience of modern man can take little comfort from modern psychology. Nothing is left behind: nothing is buried anywhere except in the depths of the mind. There the past lives and moves within each one of us, disturbing our sleep, deflecting our purpose, paralysing our will. 'Who shall deliver me from the body of this death?' This is life's innermost, inescapable burden. Who shall ease me of the great weight of myself?

'Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee.' Do you believe in Jesus Christ? What do you believe in Jesus Christ? Do you believe that He has power on earth to forgive sins? Reflect; don't answer hastily. Do you believe that He has power on earth to forgive you your sins, that His word is sufficient for your burden, that His love is sufficient for your past?

It was Kierkegaard who pointed out the blasphemy of saying, 'I can never forgive myself.' Of course not. None of us has the right to do that. It is God in Christ who forgives us and we cannot sin a sin so great as to be too great for His forgiving love. 'Here begins new life.' The words are Dante's, but they are as old as the paralytic man in Capernaum, and as new as the latest trembling acceptance by a human soul of the forgiveness of Christ. They are a resurrection. We rise from our grave in the power of Christ.

2. It is to our future that Jesus speaks when He says, 'Arise, and walk.' Man delivered from his past still has his future to face. '*Wilt* thou be made whole?' said Jesus to the impotent man at the pool of Bethesda. After all, he'd been a long time there and he'd made many friends. What would he do if he left? He could not honourably live off his relatives any more. He might even have to work!

And for the man in Capernaum there was the same challenge. Jesus ordered him at once to carry the bed on which he'd been carried. The burden of the past may seem to some of us, and to all of us in some moods, preferable to the burden of the future. So long as we're paralysed by guilt no one can demand much from us in the way of constructive effort. If one half of the human race is paralysed by sin, the other half is paralysed by anxiety.

Christ's second phrase, 'Arise, and walk,' is the point of difficulty for the modern mind, because a vast anxiety neurosis is spreading throughout the world to-day. The great cry is for security. We labour incessantly at scientific devices for mass destruction in order to have nothing to fear. The lip-service, in all lands and by all sections of society, to peace, is symptomatic of the same spirit. The burden of history — of millions in slavery — of the destruction of humanity in totalitarian states — of dispossessed classes and refugees—of backward races—we feel that it is all too much for us. 'Peace, peace,' we cry. And the Prophet replies, 'There is no peace.'

'The burden of history' we call it, but all the prophets called it 'The burden of the Lord.' We want history to stand still in the present because, for us, the present is relatively comfortable. But history moves on inexorably into the future because 'our God is marching on.' We want the power of Christ to heal the disease of our sinful past, but we fear the power of Christ to command us to shoulder the burden of the future.

The situation is complicated for us because the anxiety neurosis of modern man is created (as are all anxiety states) by man's rash assumption of a burden too great for him. Since the Renaissance Western man has tried to carry the weight of history: he has tried to shape human destiny. Now he cries only for peace and to be let alone. The future is altogether too menacing for us nowadays.

'Whether is easier to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and walk?' Do you believe in Jesus Christ? What do you believe in Jesus Christ? Do you believe that all authority is given unto Him in heaven and on earth? Do you believe that He is sufficient for this time as for time past? Do you believe that the future, next year, next century, will reveal the triumph of Christ? Do you believe that He commands you, Arise, and walk?

It was hailed as one of the signs of the Kingdom that 'the demons are subject unto him.' Man's slavery to evil powers was manifestly broken by the authority of Christ. The twin demons who enslave modern man are without power the moment we look beyond them to Christ. If I belong to Christ then the past cannot claim me as its slave through guilt, nor can the future claim me as its slave through fear. If I belong to Christ I discover the present: I live in the present.

There is only one day in my life—to-day. Only one moment—the present moment. 'Behold, now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of salvation.' 'Now' is that point where eternity intersects time cutting off past from future and focusing the present. 'Now' is that place where Christ says both, 'Son, thy sins are forgiven thee'; and 'Arise, and walk.'

TWENTIETH SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

God in the Silence

BY THE REVEREND E. L. ALLEN, PH.D., D.D.,
NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE

'The Lord is in his holy temple: let all the earth keep silence before him.'—Hab 2^{20}.

One of the most insistent and least pleasing features of an industrial civilization like our own is the noise by which we are surrounded. We live amid the whirr and clang of machinery and the roar of traffic. Yes, and even when we enter our own homes, noise may greet us from the wireless set. What a relief to escape sometimes to the peace of a summer day in the woods, with no sound to break the stillness except the song of a bird or the murmur of a nearby stream. And where God is, where His holiness awes and attracts us, silence is often the one adequate response. Let me speak therefore of three ways by which God enters our life through silence.

The first is the silence of *worship*, when we awaken to the contrast between time and eternity, man and God, and wonder claims us. Once in Japan, in the great industrial city of Kyoto, I passed in a minute out of the noise of the main streets into a Shinto shrine. There was a courtyard with a few trees, and under one of these a cistern of cool, clear water. Beyond, some steps led up to a square empty room, with spotless mats on the floor. As I stood there, the emptiness was filled with a Presence, in the silence a Voice spoke. It was a heathen shrine, to be sure, but who shall say the true God did not reveal Himself to those who worshipped there in spirit and in truth?

In the great days of Louis XIV of France, a prince of the royal blood died and the greatest orator of the time, Bishop Bossuet, was called upon to preach the funeral sermon. In his panegyric, he dwelt upon the dead man's high descent and his splendid achievements. Then, as he reached the climax of his discourse, he paused, kept silence for a moment, and, lifting his eyes and hands upward, said in measured tones: 'But God only is great.' At those words all earthly splendour was reduced to insignificance, and the pride and chivalry of France that crowded the royal chapel knew themselves to be but mortal men waiting upon the majesty of God.

Then there is the silence of *waiting*. A distinguished psychiatrist has said that he counts no patient really cured unless he is able to stand three months of a certain kind of trial. That trial is not failure, not disappointment. It is the alternation between hope and frustration, when you wait to see what is going to happen and it is not in your power to affect it in the least. The great souls were made often by being subjected to this test. So it is said of Joseph that till 'his word came to pass; the word of the Lord tried him'. If at such a time we think of ourselves as waiting on circumstances, we shall tend to become paralysed. But if we can think of ourselves as waiting on God who is master of circumstances, we shall be admitted to a share in His mastery.

There is a considerable demand to-day for war-books that tell the story of successful attempts at escape from prison camps, and we cannot sufficiently admire the combination of cool calculation and reckless daring that is needed for such an enterprise. But there were other persons who showed an equally amazing fortitude. They waited year by year, never feeding on false hopes and never succumbing to circumstances. There is a heroism that consists, not in doing some great thing, but in living with soul unperturbed by the fluctuations of our lot.

Then there is the silence of *suffering*. There are adversities that it is not difficult to bear bravely; they seem to put us on our mettle, so that we emerge the stronger for what we have gone through. But there are others that strike us down; we are unable to understand, unable even to expostulate; we can only submit. In such an hour, a man bows his head in silence, for he cannot even bring his lips to frame the words: 'Thy will be done.' He can only take his suffering as it is and offer it to God. He is stunned by it, and his only resource is to accept it and trust that it will not turn out sheer disaster.

We read the Book of Job and follow his protests against his friends' arguments. They try to explain, according to the ideas of the time, just why he suffers so, but he is unconvinced. Even when the divine voice speaks out of the storm at the end of the drama, it does not, at least to our judgment, justify what has happened. But some-

thing has changed in Job, and he keeps silence. 'I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.' God has revealed Himself in Jesus Christ as the love that is not willing that any should perish; but there are times when this is simply inconceivable. Then we can only submit and allow ourselves to be led by a way that we know not, saying as we go: 'Though he slay me, yet will I trust him.'

There is a Russian story called *The Silent Man*. A stranger comes to the bedroom of an inn towards evening and introduces himself to the other occupant as 'the silent man,' and describes the difficulties in which he has so often been involved by his taciturnity. He does it at such length that the other man rushes out to escape his chatter! So you may ask why words should be used to commend silence; would it not be better to practise it? But we must use words, and that for two reasons. In the first place, unless we put into words what we have experienced, it may well vanish and leave behind only a vague impression. In the second place, if what has happened to us is of any lasting moment, we shall want both to give thanks for it and to communicate it to others, and for these purposes language is necessary.

So I put beside my text another verse: 'God is in heaven, thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few.' Speech about God there must be, but let it be brief and sincere. Our systems of theology are so much blasphemy if they construct a scheme by which God can be placed and accounted for in the appropriate chapter. To say that 'God is love' is not in the least to define Him. For if we have known love, we know that it is an inexplicable marvel. And God is like that.

Sometimes perhaps the occasion comes to speak to others of what is deepest in our souls, and we fail. We are tongue-tied. But do not let us on that account say we will never again attempt this. For it is not the apt phrase, the well-chosen argument that commends God to men. Rather is it the stumbling utterance, the unfinished sentence, the lapse into silence that bears witness that we have met the living God. For God is so wonderful that neither speech nor silence is adequate to Him. We can but offer Him both in humility and utter sincerity, with the prayer that He will reveal Himself by each alike.

TWENTY-FIRST SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Call to Remembrance

BY THE REVEREND JOHN L. KENT, M.A., CATHCART, GLASGOW

'Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn.'—Is 51[1].

Here is an astonishing situation. The day has arrived for which the Jews have waited, pined, and prayed. For fifty years and more they have been in servitude in a foreign land and now their edict of emancipation has been signed.

The patriots are mustering. But what a pitifully small, straggling band! It is incredible that, after all the pleading and the preparing, this tiny group of unimpressive people is all who are willing to rebuild their nation and restore its fortunes on their native soil. Little wonder that their hearts sink. How can they essay to lay the foundations, far less renew the glories, of their fatherland? It is beyond them.

To that justifiable complaint the prophet spoke. 'Listen to me, you who have made the victory of right your objective, you who seek to do God's will. See Abraham your father and Sarah your mother. They started the vast enterprise of setting up God's Kingdom. Tell me, how do you think they felt? What resources had they to make them confident that God's dream would be realized through them? Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn.'

This has been God's cry to every succeeding generation. Think, for example, of the dissolution of the Roman Empire. That must have been a time when Christian people felt that the task of preventing the Church from perishing with the Empire was quite impossible. But to His people God spoke and said: 'Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn.' And out from the ruins of a proud civilization the Church marched to enlarge its conquests and to fashion a new and better culture. Or, again, think of how this new culture in its turn began to crumble. Mediæval Europe was afflicted with a fatal illness and it seemed as if the Church must vanish with it. How could its members rescue it from death? Once more the voice of God rang out: 'Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn.' And, says Latourette, 'once more the Church broke the bonds of the now moribund culture, burst forth in fresh life in the Reformation, and became a builder of the civilization of modern Europe.'

Thus to us on this day of remembrance the same challenge is addressed.

For we are standing at just such a point in history. A new world is coming into being and the shaping of it is the most demanding task mankind has been set. Men are not certain that they possess the wisdom, skill, and character to fulfil their destiny. They are therefore taut, edgy, and nervous. Some one has called this chapter of our human story 'the age of anxiety' and we are well aware of the source of that idea. It springs from our vivid apprehension of the fatal consequences that will result from our failure to accomplish our mission.

As Christians we are acutely conscious of how

deeply our cause is involved in all that is happening on the earth. We are concerned for the survival of our faith ; we are even more concerned that its relevance will be fully realized. With the repudiation of so much that the faith has stood for and with the dismissal of its claims as irrelevant to mankind's supreme objectives, we are growing alarmed. All so easily we can become infected by the mood around us, and fall victims to a paralysing anxiety.

It is good therefore that we should hearken to this ancient word. ' Listen to me, you who have made the victory of right your objective. . . . Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn.'

The duty of remembrance. When Sir John Hunt was setting down his reflections on the triumphant scaling of Everest, he paid a glowing tribute to his predecessors. ' Above all, and independent of their lessons,' he writes, ' we were inspired by their example, their persistence, their spirit of quest, their determination that there should be no surrender. For this compelling urge to continue the struggle, we have above all else to thank the earlier Everest climbers.' That is the grace that remembrance brings.

Like the Everest climbers and all who tackle any enterprise that daunts the human spirit, we are not unique and alone. Behind us lies the long line of our predecessors. By the character they bore, the example they set, the teaching they gave, the dreams they nursed they made us what we are.

Our duty is to recognize and appreciate the fact. This, solemnly and respectfully we do to-day. We tread softly on the hallowed ground where our dear dead lie and salute them. They made us. With grateful remembrance we name, one by one, the men and women who put their bodies between us and something worse than death. They saved us. We call up the saints, the prophets, the martyrs, who strove against the world, the flesh, and the powers of hell. They gave us our soul. This is the rock from which we are hewn. With thankfulness we acknowledge it.

It is not, however, merely our duty so to regard our inheritance ; it is also a dire need. ' Our worst foes,' says Helen Keller, ' are not belligerent circumstances, but wavering spirits.' We recover our nerve when we perceive the persistence of what the Bible calls ' the generation of God's children,' their spirit of quest, their determination that there shall be no surrender. It was James Denney who said that it is an important part of our moral security to have a place among God's children. ' They alone,' he declares, ' are perpetuated from age to age : the cause with which they are identified is the only one against which time does not prevail.' Let us get our feet well down on the rock of that assurance so that we and what we stand for cannot be moved.

The dynamic in remembrance. When the prophet directed his compatriots to the rock from which they were hewn, he had one lesson he wanted them to learn. They were dismayed and unnerved by the fewness of their numbers and the poverty of their equipment. ' When God began to create His chosen people,' he said, ' He started with one man.'

In truth this has been God's technique throughout the ages. On a day like this we are inclined to believe that all whom we remember were of singular valour and consecration. The fact is that only a minority were. Not all the saints were like St. Francis ; not all the reformers were like Martin Luther ; not all the Pilgrim Fathers were like William Penn.

Majorities and powerful resources would appear not to be the weapons God uses for His warfare. He works through people who say, ' silver and gold have I none ' ; through men who declare, ' small and feeble is our band ' ; through sinners who confess

> Nothing in my hand I bring,
> Simply to Thy Cross I cling.

Overweening self-confidence and pride are the sins of all who believe in bigness and power. They defy God and frustrate the operations of His Spirit. Therefore let us beware who preen ourselves on belonging to the world-wide Church of the Lord Jesus. True, we have something to shout from the housetops. In the last hundred and fifty years the Church has girdled the earth ; but let us watch our step lest we fall into the snare of the worldling and the materialist. Mere size and strength are never the instruments or the evidence of the victory of God.

On the other hand, lift up our hearts, we who mourn the relative smallness of the disciples of Jesus, the divisions and poverty and ignorance of the Church of God. We do well to be ashamed of them but, at least this we know. Sincere humility and contrition and utter dependence on God provide Him with the conditions He needs to perform His greatest works of mercy and deliverance.

Dedication through remembrance. Grateful remembrance of the people to whom we belong and of what we owe to them, as well as a wise recognition of God's method in extending His reign, should lead us to a new offering of ourselves.

A day like this can end in sheer futility. The thoughts and feelings it engenders can exhaust themselves in mere sentiment ; and sentimentality is the enemy of the Kingdom of God. It means emotion without action. If we have reckoned the dimensions of the task before us as the people

of God and if we are genuine in our expressions of unworthiness and insufficiency, then God is ready to use us if we give ourselves trustfully to Him.

It was January nearly a hundred years ago, when David Livingstone, thin and fever-ridden, tramped amongst hostile tribes by the banks of the Zambesi. In his camp he wrote, 'Thank God for His mercies so far. . . . I commit my way unto Thee. I trust also in Thee that Thou wilt direct my steps.' Next day he is surrounded by savages. Their spear-heads graze his limbs. He conquers their anger and their fear. On he goes, not knowing whither, but certainly knowing why. Witch-doctors and maledictions, charms and curses, armies and warriors, rapids, fever, darkness —nothing daunts him. 'Remember me and Thy cause in Africa. . . . I commit all to Thee.'

That is the kind of rock from which we were hewn and that is the type of self-committal God uses for His glory.

TWENTY-SECOND SUNDAY AFTER TRINITY

The Utmost for the Highest

BY THE REVEREND RODERICK BETHUNE, M.A., EDINBURGH

'And Ittai answered the king, and said, As the Lord liveth, and as my lord the king liveth, surely in what place my lord the king shall be, whether in death or life, even there also will thy servant be.'—2 S 15^{21}.

'Then said Thomas, which is called Didymus, unto his fellowdisciples, Let us also go, that we may die with him.'—Jn 11^{16}.

The first of these two verses was spoken to David when, Absalom having raised a rebellion which had attracted a large measure of support, he was compelled to flee Jerusalem accompanied by his loyal troops and friends.

He stood by the wayside, 'close to the last house outside Jerusalem before the desert road to Jericho began,' and 'watched the little company of royalists file past him.' Suddenly his eyes fell upon Ittai of Gath, a professional soldier. Commanding him to halt his troop, the king said to Ittai, 'Wherefore do you also go with me? You are a foreigner and you have to live by your sword. I give you free discharge and you must seek new service.' It was an offer which other professional soldiers who were prepared to give their services in return for pay might have been disposed to accept. But not Ittai. He spoke the words of our text. His words, understandably, moved David to the depths of his being. That a professional soldier should elect to stand by him when his own son had chosen to lead a rebellion against him was wonderful beyond words. 'Go,' was all David was able to say. 'Go and pass over.' 'There are times,' wrote Professor Adam Welch, commenting upon David's words, 'when it is something of an impertinence to thank a man; your only way of thanking him is to take him at his word and accept what he gives with a willing mind.'

The incident sets one thinking.

1. It sets one thinking first of other instances in which a change of fortune did not affect the loyalty which men and women gave their masters or their friends.

One thinks, for example, of an incident in that beautiful idyll, the Book of Ruth, in which Naomi turns her face toward the land from which she and her husband and their two sons had so shortly come and suggests to her daughters-in-law that they remain in their own country. The one, Orpah, acted upon Naomi's suggestion. But the other, Ruth, could not bring herself to do so. 'She might forget her boy lover and form new ties,' wrote Principal Macgregor, 'but she could not see this dejected woman turning to creep back where everything would speak of loss.' 'Whither thou goest, I will go,' said Ruth, '. . . the Lord do so to me, and more also, if ought but death part thee and me'—an utterance, all of us are agreed, worthy in every sense to be placed alongside Ittai's words to David.

Nor are Ruth's words the only parallel to be found to the words of Ittai. Many of us, in our obscure, humble stations in life, have had experiences every bit as moving as David found Ittai's expression of loyalty and as Naomi found Ruth's proof of her love.

2. But as I pondered the thought suggested by the words of Ittai I found the words of Thomas coming into my mind.

The first text speaks of loyalty between men and men, but the second text speaks of the loyalty of men to Jesus Christ, a far more important matter, and one that affects not only the cause of One who came to be the Light of the world but also, and more deeply, the lives of those who are constrained to manifest it.

At this point in our Lord's life He had lost favour with many. Endeavouring to dissuade Him from going to Bethany, His disciples reminded our Lord that the Jews had already sought to stone Him. But He was resolved to go, for He was confident that nothing could befall Him that was not appointed of God. Realizing that, Thomas, whom many of us always think of

as 'doubting' Thomas, urged his colleagues to share the risk he and the others were persuaded their Master was taking. 'Let us also go,' he said, 'that we may die with him.'

All of us are aware that the noble courage which such words suggest characterized neither Thomas nor any of his fellow-disciples when the hour of their severest testing came. He and the others then deserted our Lord to a man. But Peter, says the narrative, fell to rise again, and the other ten, if the records are reliable, redeemed their failure with God's help and went into a hostile world prepared to endure whatever shame, hardship, or loss their loyalty to the Lord might involve.

3. As I pondered the loyalty of the disciples a third thought came into my mind. If the love and loyalty of an Ittai or of a Ruth move us and suggest that we are deserving of the epithets 'loving' and 'loyal' only as we follow their examples in similar circumstances, the love and the loyalty expressed in the words of Thomas and the devotion of both him and his colleagues in furthering the gospel move us much more and cause us, surely, to ask whether what constrained them to adhere to Jesus Christ should not cause us to adhere to Jesus Christ who is both their Lord and ours.

Three things at least, I suggest, constrained Thomas to speak as he did and later constrained him and his colleagues to act as they did.

The first thing was the attractiveness of the Master, the kind of attraction which Ittai found, in a lesser degree, in David, and which Ruth found in Naomi, the kind of attraction which we find, in a lesser degree, in our friends. He had drawn them to Him because of what He was. And what they found others have found through succeeding generations. If we don't feel as they felt, if our loyalty is fitful and inconstant compared with theirs, is the explanation not this, partly at least, that we have not companied with Him as they did, have not read about Him until He haunts us like a melody, making disloyalty unthinkable?

The second thing was, I am persuaded, their sense of indebtedness. When Thomas spoke as he did at an hour when our Lord had no material rewards in His gift to bestow upon His disciples for their loyalty, he may have recollected and been inspired by the memory of our Lord's love for, and loyalty to, him and the others when they had had nothing to commend them to Him. He had spoken in one of His parables of two servants who were in debt to their master, who, when they had nothing to pay, had frankly forgiven them both. How that parable had struck home! How it had remained in their memory! And can we seriously contemplate deserting and disowning Him as long as we recollect our indebtedness to Him who, though He was rich, for our sakes became poor, that we, through His poverty, might be made rich?

The third consideration which constrained Thomas to speak as he did and which constrained both him and his colleagues later to act as they did was their conviction that all that our Lord stood for was of the very constitution of the universe, something which they had been created to acknowledge. To fail to acknowledge it would be, they felt, to be untrue to their own best selves and to God who had made them for Himself and in whose will alone was their peace. Let all who will smile at this third consideration. But one thing they cannot deny. The world which in so many places prides itself upon emancipating itself is a most unhappy place. Is there a connexion between its unhappiness and its disregard of scruples and principles which foregoing generations observed? The clearest, most reliable thinkers believe that there is. Professor Hromadka, for example, the Czechoslovakian theologian, who lives where so much has been changed, is one who sees such a connexion. 'All the modern nations,' he wrote in one of his books, 'are affected by moral confusion, by the struggle against inherited principles and ideals and institutions; they all vibrate with revolutionary and destructive revolt against the ancient cathedrals. They all grope hopelessly, not knowing what should be built in place of the superannuated dogmas and the crumbled sanctuaries of fallen thrones and rejected social forms.' That is well said. You may, if you are so inclined, the modern world reminds us, refuse to acknowledge the sanctities which our fathers acknowledged, but there will be a penalty to pay.

Don't let us be deceived by those who, affecting a superior air, profess to smile at such as Ittai, Ruth, Thomas, and many more who, to their way of thinking, lost a great deal because they did not have an eye for the main chance. It is the Ittais and the Ruths and the Thomases who, prepared to give the utmost for what they believe to be the highest, have the right of things. They not only make life worth living so far as their fellow-men are concerned, but they live in accordance with the Will of God in obedience to which lies the peace not only of every human heart but also the peace of the whole world.

Religious Education

Teaching the Acts of the Apostles

By Margaret Avery, B.A., S.Th., London

The Acts of the Apostles must needs loom large in every scheme of religious education. Without it we should have only hints as to how the Church came into being and set out on its mission. Its vivid dramatic quality makes it an impressive and delightful book to teach.

What is its value in the class room and the Sunday School? In the first place it gives a life-like picture of real men and women caught up on to a new plane of living by their faith in Jesus Christ and a great experience of spiritual power. These early Christians are both familiar and strange; they grip the imagination. They are transfigured yet themselves, full of individuality and in spite of the writer's tendency to idealize, human and imperfect. Yet how great is their heroic appeal.

These two aspects, the stress on divine power and on the human agents possessed by it, are evident all through the book. Hence its value to the teacher: for it is through their embodiment in men and women that children apprehend the possibilities and graces of the Christian life. They can note the transformation of St. Peter from cowardly disciple to courageous leader able to convert and heal and inspire. Such is the Holy Spirit's power to transform. But Peter has his weaknesses still: he cannot cope both with evangelism and finance (Ac 6). Stephen and Paul, though not more attractive than the rugged and warm-hearted Peter, are certainly abler. Both of them are effective administrators as well as inspired preachers and teachers. Stephen is a radiant figure, probably quite young, intellectual, eloquent and subtle, efficient as well as saintly, the most adventurous and liberal minded of the early leaders till Paul took up and completed his work. Philip is a roving evangelist, fervent, very conscious of 'guidance,' the father of four 'prophetesses,' yet also the leader of the Cæsarean Church and associated with Stephen in administering funds. Different again is Barnabas, impressive in appearance (Ac 14), an ecclesiastic (Ac 4), a man of weight as well as of kindliness, generous and dignified, only less great than Paul, perhaps the greatest Christian of all time and the most misunderstood. Even Junior children can appreciate his pioneer's courage and endurance (cf. 2 Co 11), his loyalty to his master, his efficiency and his affectionate friendliness. Older pupils can appreciate better his missionary fervour, his skill in organizing, his pastoral gifts, the brilliance, range and depth of his intellect, his profound knowledge of God, the joy that lay deep beneath the stress and suffering of his busy life, the charity that conquered a proud, dominant, and sensitive temperament. (Some reference to the Epistles will be necessary in making these points clear, *e.g.*, the frequent use of the word 'joy' and 'rejoice' in Philippians.) There is too a whole gallery of minor portraits in Acts—that of the practical and kindly Dorcas, of Lydia, generous, hospitable, insistent, perhaps a little overpowering, and many others.

For older pupils, to bring the characters to life is only a first step. They need also *to see the book as a whole* to understand its author's purpose.

This can be done in several ways. The material can be associated with outstanding figures, *e.g.*, Acts 9, part of 11, 13, 14, 16–28 is concerned with St. Paul. Another theme is the growth of the Church from its beginnings in Jerusalem to its establishment in Rome, a study best preceded by a rapid private reading of the whole book, possibly in a modern version; or Luke's 'apology' for Christianity can be traced throughout.

In tracing the growth of the Church a diagram is useful. With Jerusalem as the centre, a series of concentric circles can be drawn on the blackboard or on paper. The first circle is Judæa, the next Samaria, the next Syrian Antioch, the next Cyprus, and so on. The diagram can be built up gradually as each new stage is reached, or if the diagram is presented complete, each circle can in turn be named (*e.g.*, Achaia, Rome, etc.), and distinguished by a different colour. Or a rough diagram on the board can be copied and developed by pupils individually. Acts 15 can be seen as the watershed dividing Part I from Part II.

Attention must also be paid to *background*. There is no need to turn lessons on St. Paul's journeys into geography lessons, so that each voyage becomes a list of names to be painfully remembered, but there is no reason for not providing sound background knowledge as long as this remains subsidiary. Always, whether in telling stories to Juniors (*e.g.*, Ac 3, 12, 14, 16, 28) or studying intensively in older classes, a vivid presentation of background is invaluable. A good

deal of this information can be ferreted out by the pupils themselves, the younger from such books as Basil Mathew's *Paul the Dauntless* or *The Adventure of Paul*, the older from Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, H. V. Morton's *In the Steps of St. Paul*, or Bouquet's *Life in New Testament Times*. The class might compile a 'background book' of miscellaneous information. They might explore the life of a Jewish boy in Hellenistic Tarsus: they might study the Temple building and services and the rabbinical school where Paul studied under Gamaliel. They could look up 'Lystra' in a good commentary to see why Paul talked about the crops or why in that particular locality he and Barnabas were taken for gods (cf. Baucis and Philemon in Ovid's Metamorphoses). They would discover that Corinth was a great cosmopolitan port, the Liverpool of the ancient world combining with commerce provincial government, artistic manufactures (*e.g.*, they made the Jewish Temple's Beautiful Gate) and the Isthmian games—as if Liverpool, Nottingham, Stoke-on-Trent, and Wembley were rolled into one. Paul's activities in Ephesus suggest another interesting topic, the place of magic in current thought and Paul's own attitude to current demonology. The story of Paul's voyage to Rome (Ac 27) has an appeal for every age. So accurate is its knowledge of ships and sailing that naval cadets study it in their course. A good picture of a first-century ship is essential, also a bold map of the Mediterranean. For Juniors a flannelgraph map and ship is a lively method of impressing the story, as the ship can be moved from point to point.

In all this background study the content and significance of the text itself must always be central. For instance, the main points in Ac 27 are these: how in the providence of God Paul was led to Rome to fulfil his mission there; how faith in Christ made him a fearless, wise, and commanding figure when legionaries, sailors, and passengers were paralysed with fear; how the tough and virile centurion learned to respect his strange prisoner.

If the full impact of the events is to be felt, they must be set not only against their first century background but against the life of to-day. They must have *relevance* and a *permanent* significance. Vital questions will arise spontaneously which cannot be shirked and time set aside for discussion is invaluable if it leads on to fuller knowledge. I have discussed such questions as these: What is the secret of the vitality of the early Church? Should Christians to-day experience the same thrilling sense of newness of life and power? If not, why not? Should the delegates at Evanston be able to say, with the Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15), 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us?' Is the message of the Church to-day the same as in the first century? Would St. Paul have used modern techniques such as television or 'crusades'?

What a live study of Acts can leave behind is a strong sense of the reality of God's power, especially of the power of the Holy Spirit within the Christian community. There are no isolated Christians in Acts. Knit together in one fellowship they brought hope and joy to a despairing world.

Recent Foreign Theology

The Dead Sea Scrolls. These Scrolls, which are now coming to be called the Qumran texts, are continuing to attract much interest, and are likely to do so for many years, and increasingly when the rich finds of the last two years become available to scholars. Meanwhile Professor K. Elliger has produced a massive study of the short text known as the Habakkuk Commentary.[1] In three hundred pages he essays a reconstruction of the first two columns, and minutely examines the significance of the scroll for the textual criticism of the Biblical chapters, and investigates the language and style of the commentary. The question which has attracted most attention is that of the background of history presupposed by the application of the Biblical text to the author's own times, and here wide differences of opinion have been expressed. Elliger examines all the competing views and himself favours the early Roman period in the first century B.C. The theological ideas of the commentary are also analysed more completely than has been attempted elsewhere. In addition the whole text of the commentary is translated and fully annotated. A substantial bibliography is added, bringing its evidence that the author has studied all of importance that others have written about this scroll. The reconstructed Hebrew text is printed on sheets which are in a pocket at the end of the volume, showing a number of variations from other readings and reconstructions. The whole forms a volume which no serious student of the Scrolls can afford to miss.

In a short study of sixteen pages Canon Coppens examines briefly the points of similarity between

[1] *Studien zum Habakuk-Kommentar vom Toten Meer* (Beiträge zur historischen Theologie, No. 15) [1953]. Mohr, Tübingen; DM. 39.60.

the Scrolls and the New Testament.[1] He accepts as a working hypothesis the dating of the Habakkuk Commentary in the middle of the first century B.C. He does not accept the view that the Teacher of Righteousness was a pale precursor of Christ, and finds that while there are many links with New Testament thought there are yet important differences. The sect of the Scrolls was interested in eschatology, and brought its contribution to the background of thought which lies behind the New Testament, but lacked the dynamic quality of the faith of the New Testament. Terms and expressions were not newly invented for the New Testament, but were invested with a new significance.

The best general account of the Scrolls which has appeared so far is by G. Vermès, and is entitled *The Manuscripts of the Desert of Judaea.*[2] This contains an account of a larger number of the caves that have been excavated and the texts that have been found—including fragments of a large number of the books of the Old Testament —than any similar handbook which could be published before. Many non-Biblical fragments and hitherto unknown texts have been found, and while others continue to be discovered, the reader will find here a considerable body of information not easily accessible elsewhere. Naturally the chief attention is paid to the texts which have been published in full, and the author gives a translation, with brief notes, of the Habakkuk Commentary, the Manual of Discipline, such parts of the Hymns and of the Wars as have been published, a Fragment of an Unknown work, and two of the texts from the Murabba'at caves—including the letter of Bar Koseba. He also includes a translation of the Zadokite work first brought to light half a century ago, and now receiving new attention because of its obvious links with the newly found Scrolls. The problem of the age of the manuscripts and of the background of history is considered and the various theories passed briefly in review. Father Vermès himself favours the view that the Zadokite work dates from about 100 B.C. and the Habakkuk Commentary from about 65 B.C. He surveys the evidence on the organization and life of the sect and analyses its religious ideas. As a general *vade mecum* on the Scrolls so far accessible, this is a first-class book, and its illustrations are also excellent. It has a very extensive bibliography and its footnotes will guide the reader skilfully amongst the voluminous literature that has already grown up around the Scrolls.

[1] *Les Documents du désert de Juda et les origines du christianisme* (Analecta Lovaniensia Biblica et Orientalia, 2nd ser., No. 39) [1953].

[2] *Les Manuscrits du désert de Juda* [1945]. Desclée et Cie, Tournai.

Augustinian Studies. Four French authors have contributed to a volume of acute and learned studies on the work of Saint Augustine.[3] The first is by M. le Landais and is devoted to the *Tractatus in Ioannem.* Here it is shown that the sermons on the Psalms of Degrees and the first twelve sermons on St. John alternated, and the chronological relations of the two series are examined and the date of their delivery established with some precision. Some of their contents are then examined in the light of events of the time. The second study is by A. Lauras and H. Rondet, and it traces the growth of the fundamental ideas on which *De civitate Dei* rests in the earlier writings of St. Augustine. The third study is by C. Couturier, and it deals with the use of the terms *sacramentum* and *mysterium* in the Augustinian writings. These largely interchangeable terms cover a wide range of meanings, which are here divided into references to a sacramental rite and a variety of symbolical uses. The terms occur very frequently, and some thousands of references are examined and classified with care. An enormous amount of work has gone into the preparation of each of these essays, which together constitute a notable contribution to Augustinian studies.

Catechism and Bible.[4] A valuable special issue of the *Cahiers Sioniens* is devoted to the question of the place of the Bible in Roman Catholic catechisms. It is argued that it is insufficient to know about the Bible, but that familiarity with its text should be fostered, and a large number of statements from various catechisms are examined, and often criticized. Throughout, special attention is paid to the teaching given with relation to the Jews. Here it is complained that rarely does any hope of the reintegration of the Jews and the Church figure. An enlightened attitude, both toward the Jews and toward Protestants, is commended, and some examples of deplorable references to Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli are cited. Non-Catholics who read this work may be moved to examine the teaching given in their own churches, and to ask whether indifference or prejudice marks any of their attitudes, and whether the study of the Bible and a sympathetic interest in the people from whom the Bible came to us are as largely fostered amongst their young people as is fitting.

Collectivism and Individualism in the Old Testament. A large and important volume on

[3] *Études Augustiniennes* [1953]. Aubier, Paris; Fr. 885.

[4] *Le Catéchiste chrétienne et le peuple de la Bible,* by P. Démann, with the assistance of R. Bloch (*Cahiers Sioniens* [1952], No. 3–4). Fr. 450.

the relations between the ideas of the solidarity of the community and individualism in the Old Testament, resting on wide learning and solid scholarship, has been written by F. Spadafora.[1] After a historical and critical survey of ideas on this subject from the days of the Fathers to the present day, with particular attention to modern theories from Wellhausen to Durkheim and his successors, the author offers a careful survey, broadly chronological, of the passages in which the solidarity of the family or of the community figure in the Old Testament, from the earliest times to the latest post-exilic times, and then the passages in which individualism is to be found, again covering all periods in a broadly chronological survey, but culminating in a study of the teaching of Ezekiel and of Jeremiah—in that order. The author is not concerned to impose any theory on the material, but shows that both early and late a man was thought of both as a member of the community and as an individual. What comes out of the study is that the emphasis on the individual side was much less prominent in the older period than the emphasis on his solidarity with the community, while with Jeremiah and Ezekiel the emphasis on individual responsibility was not the mere negation of the idea of solidarity. While there is no flat uniformity throughout the Old Testament, there is a real unity, and the development is not a simple evolution from solidarity to individualism.

Koehler-Baumgartner Lexicon. A notable enterprise has been brought to a conclusion by the completion of the Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon to the Old Testament prepared by Professor L. Koehler of Zürich, and Professor W. Baumgartner of Basel—the former being responsible for the Hebrew part and the latter for the Aramaic part.[2] Very many years of labour have gone into the preparation of this work, which notably supplements the earlier lexicons of Brown-Driver-Briggs and Gesenius-Buhl. For a great deal of philological research and new discovery have gone on since those earlier lexicons were issued, and the fruits are enshrined in the new work. For instance, the Ugaritic cognate words are here recorded for the first time in such a dictionary, since the earlier works antedated the discovery of the Ras Shamra texts. Much of the older material, for which room has not been found in the present work, is still valuable and will long be used by the student —just as much of the material in the old Gesenius lexicon of more than a century ago is still worth consulting. In the new dictionary the meanings are given in German and English, though it might have been an advantage if these could have been checked over for the Hebrew part, as they have been for the Aramaic, by an English-speaking scholar. It is a source of satisfaction to British Old Testament scholars that both of the editors of this work are Honorary Members of the Society for Old Testament Study. To mark the conclusion of the enterprise Professor P. A. H. de Boer travelled from Leiden to Zürich to present to the two editors specially bound copies of the work in the name of the publishers, and these were presented on 22nd November 1953.

The Benedictine Vulgate. When the Society for Old Testament Study held a special meeting in Rome in 1952, the members had an opportunity of visiting the monastery where the great Benedictine edition of the Vulgate is being prepared, and of seeing something of the methods of work being employed. They were all impressed with the splendid material provisions for the work, and with the great number of manuscripts, or photographs of manuscripts, available for constant reference. Few enterprises can have been so lavishly provided for, and it is little wonder that the work is now making such rapid progress. The latest volume is devoted to the text of the Psalter.[3] It prints the text of the Gallican Psalter, which Jerome's translation from the Hebrew failed to displace from the Vulgate, with an elaborate critical apparatus. Jerome's Preface to the *Iuxta Hebraeos* is printed in addition to his Preface to the Gallican Psalter, and also his long letter *Ad Sunniam et Fretelam* on the Septuagint Psalter. The beautiful production of the work matches the excellence of the scholarship on which it rests, and though few private libraries can afford to have it, it should be in all Theological College and other similar libraries, since it will long be indispensable, not alone to those who wish to know the Vulgate text for its own sake, but also to those who wish to use the Vulgate for text-critical work on the Hebrew.

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[1] *Collettivismo e individualismo nel Vecchio Testamento* [1953]. Istituto Padano de Arti Grafiche, Rovigo ; L. 2000.

[2] *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros* [1948–1953]. Brill, Leiden.

[3] *Biblia Sacra iuxta latinam Vulgatam versionem ad codicum fidem iussu Pii PP. XII cura et studio Monachorum Abbatiae Pontificiae Sancti Hieronymi in Urbe Ordinis Sancti Benedicti edita*, vol. X, *Liber Psalmorum* [1953]. Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, Rome.

Contributions and Comments

'de Sacramentis'

In the August issue of The Expository Times Dr. A. J. B. Higgins gives an account of Lietzmann's *Messe und Herrenmahl* [1926], in which he observes that Lietzmann regarded the *de Sacramentis* printed among the works of St. Ambrose as 'possibly of fifth-century origin' (p. 333). It is perhaps worth adding that Lietzmann later declared himself convinced by the arguments of Dom G. Morin that the work was a stenographic report of a catechetical instruction given by Ambrose; see his *Geschichte der alten Kirche*, iii. [1938], 300.

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A 'Conjecture' About the Parable of the Unjust Steward (Luke xvi. 1–9)

Principal S. MacLean Gilmour, the Canadian scholar, in his exegesis of St. Luke in the recently published volume viii. of *The Interpreter's Bible*, writes this about the Parable of the Unjust Steward: 'If it is a true parable, Jesus must have used it . . . to make one truth vivid and memorable, but since we do not know its original context, we can only guess what that truth was.' That seems to express quite adequately the scholarly consensus on this parable.

If we must use the 'guess' method in dealing with this parable (as apparently we must) surely it is not unreasonable to push our guessing back to embrace the setting for its telling, its *Sitz im Leben*. A fairly reliable test of such a guess will be in the consistency of the interpretation of the parable suggested by the guess with what we know of the general pattern of the teaching and teaching methods of Jesus. My guess is that Luke arranged his materials to indicate the setting for this parable and that it was told almost immediately after the telling of the Parable of the Prodigal Son, or under similar circumstances.

The background of the telling of the three parables in Lk 15 seems to provide the clue to the meaning of the Parable of the Unjust Steward. It is not difficult to imagine the attitudes of the disciples as they stand by and listen to Jesus tell the Parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Prodigal Son, to the murmuring Pharisees. We can see them there, taking rather perverse delight in the discomfiture of the Pharisees as Jesus proclaims what William Temple called 'God's indiscriminate love.' As Jesus talks to the Pharisees the disciples begin to feel quite smug and superior, and they respond to the snobbery of others, as we so readily do, by indulging in a bit of their own kind of snobbery. The disciples are of the same stuff as we are, and it is not too difficult for us to imagine their self-satisfaction as the Master 'ticks off' some people they don't like.

Jesus is aware of their secret thoughts. He senses that they are gloating as He instructs the Pharisees, and He becomes a little annoyed with them. And when He has finished with the Pharisees and they have departed, He takes the disciples aside, 'And he said also unto his disciples, There was a certain rich man, which had a steward . . .'

The disciples know their Master well, and they readily understand his sharp irony. They aren't confused, as we are, by the parable because 'There is nothing edifying about it' (Gilmour). Its significance is in its irony, and that irony depends for its effect on an intimate personal relationship. It is the kind of irony which is understood in a family circle, but which can be almost meaningless to the outsider.

On the basis of all this I suggest that the Parable of the Unjust Steward is a simple, ironical admonition to the disciples. It is the old motes-and-beams theme, with special application to their circumstances and tasks.

I am aware that this 'guess' is rather fanciful, and probably better as homiletics than as exegesis. And it raises questions which I will not presume to answer. (For example, what is to be made of *v.* 9? Is it really a tag on the parable, or should it be taken as the beginning of the next section?) Proof and disproof are beyond us, but it does seem reasonable to assume that the setting was in accord with this guess and that Luke, with literary artistry, arranged his materials to suggest such a setting. At least it can be said that such a setting, pointing to the essential irony in the parable, suggests an interpretation which accords with the general pattern of the teaching and teaching methods of Jesus.

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1 Kings ix. 13

'And he said, What cities are these which thou hast given me, my brother? And he called them the land of Cabul unto this day.' 1 K 9^{13}. This text reveals the effective use made of the riddle and the pun in the Old Testament. It is clear that King Hiram thought little of these Galilean cities which Solomon handed over as a surety for the trees and gold, lent to him by the Phoenician King. He assigned to them the name 'Cabul.' Various meanings have been suggested for this word by commentators. Josephus maintained that 'Cabul' was, in origin, a Phoenician word meaning 'not friendly.' The most favoured interpretation is etymological. It is held that the combination of the Hebrew words k^{e} ('as') and bal ('not') gives a meaning such as 'as good as nothing,' or 'no good' (Lowther Clark). Thus Moffatt in his translation places 'good for nothing' in brackets after 'Cabul.' Another interpretation links 'Cabul' with kebel, the Hebrew word for 'fetter.' Thus, the territory in question is declared by Hiram to be 'fettered' land, or land which is 'bound down' and consequently unproductive.

But it is often overlooked that this era was one in which the posing of riddles and the art of punning were an international pastime involving cultural intercourse between nations. (The chariots of iron had not yet been converted into iron curtains!) Hence the suggestion that Hiram, as an exponent of the art of punning, was playing upon the word KHAVUL, one of these Galilean cities, is most likely. He was saying in effect that these places were an inadequate surety, but that he had no intention of disrupting his good relations with Solomon on that account.

Such an attitude was one of which the sages of the Old Testament would have fully approved. It revealed that sense of humour which is really an aspect of Wisdom in the comprehensive Biblical sense and which could indeed be applied as a practical proposition in the realm of political negotiation. For the realism of the Wisdom literature has its part to play in the work of the Holy Spirit.

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The Voice of the Spirit (Jn iii. 8).

I SUBMIT that the older commentators such as Bengel, Origen, and Augustine were right when they insisted that the pneuma here is 'the Spirit.' This verse ought to be translated as follows: 'The Spirit breathes where He wills and you hear His voice; but you do not understand whence He comes and whither He goes. So is it with every one who is born of the Spirit.' The reasons for this rendering are: (1) This is the only place out of three hundred and eighty-five where 'pneuma' has been rendered wind. (2) The proper word for wind (ἄνεμος) is used thirty-one times in the New Testament and in Jn 6^{18}. Why not here also had that been the meaning? (3) The verse is an Epanadiplosis to emphasize verse 7. (4) Even in Ac 2^{2} the sound of the coming of the Spirit is compared not to 'wind' but to 'breath' (πν ο). (5) The current rendering has been rejected as being factually and scripturally wrong. (6) It is unlikely that if a personification of the 'wind' had been meant here so strong a verb as θέλειν would have been used denoting a personal act of volition. (7) The citing of the distinction between ἀκούειν φωνῆς and ἀκούειν φωνὴν in support of the current rendering is weak as this is not consistently observed in pure Attic Greek still less in New Testament Greek. (8) The words οὐκ οἶδας stress the absence of intellectual understanding and explanation rather than observational knowledge: as such they refer more appropriately to the Spirit than to the wind (1 K 22^{24}, Ps 139^{1-12}). (9) Surely the word 'thou' is used generically here and hence there is little weight in M. Knox's objection that 'it is difficult to see how it could be said to Nicodemus "thou hearest His voice."' For these reasons I cannot accept Lightfoot's reluctant conclusion hereanent that 'our translators must be held blameless for the exigences of the English language left them no choice . . . we must patiently acquiesce in the different renderings though the comparison between the material and immaterial pneuma is impaired thereby just as in a later passage (20^{22}) the symbolical act of breathing on the disciples loses much of its force to an English reader' (*On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament*). The meaning of the Greek text as it stands is clear without importing any reference to 'the wind.' Our Lord, having spoken of the necessity of birth 'from above' and having been misunderstood, here explains His meaning. Conversion is a supernatural act of a personal Spirit: it is not due to man's natural volition as he cannot give himself either 'faith' or 'life.' In no sense is man his own saviour by means of his own works. A man knows the reality of the Spirit's working in his own experience and others know it by the effects produced in his life and thought.

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